Witchcraft
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Woodward's Historical Series.

No. VI.

THE

Witchcraft Delusion

IN

NEW ENGLAND:

ITS

RISE, PROGRESS, AND TERMINATION,

AS EXHIBITED BY

DR. COTTON MATHER,

IN

THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD;

AND BY

MR. ROBERT CALEF,

IN HIS

MORE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD.

WITH A

Preface, Introduction, and Notes,

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

More Wonders of the Invisible World.

PRINTED FOR W. ELLIOT WOODWARD,
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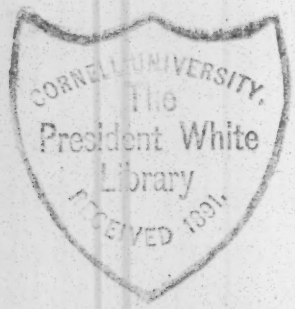

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PREFATORY,

BY THE EDITOR.

MY Object in this Edition of Mr. Calef's Work is ſimilar to that in Dr. Mather's in the preceding Volume, namely, to give a perfectly accurate Reprint of the Work; ſo that whoever has Occaſion to uſe or conſult it may do ſo with entire Confidence. I have therefore reprinted the original Edition of 1700, with ſuch Notes as was judged might be uſeful to a certain Claſs of Readers. And having mentioned the Notes, I will ſay of them here all I have to ſay about them. There may be thoſe who have no need of ſuch Additions. They can paſs them by unheeded;

but it was thought generally that a few Explanations and Additions would be a Help to the Party conſulting the Work. They have been made as brief as was thought conſiſtent with the Subject.

With reſpect to the original Text, it is given as exactly like the Original as a much better Type can be made to imitate an old Type of 166 Years ago. As to retaining all the Errors in the original Edition, it was thought incompatible with the general good Taſte of the Age. Some, of a peculiar Nature, if judged neceſſary to ſhow a Peculiarity of the Times, may have been retained, and noted for ſuch Peculiarity; but a broken or imperfect Letter is diſcarded as unworthy of Imitation; ſo tranſpoſed or inverted Letters are ſet right, as any good proof Reader would have done, had he noticed them in the Original; but the Orthography of that Day is ſcrupulouſly retained.

Why there was no Edition of the *More Wonders of the Inviſible World*, for

ninety-ſix Years, will be found elſewhere explained. The Edition of 1796 is the firſt American Edition. This bears the following Imprint: "PRINTED IN LONDON IN the Year 1700. | *Reprinted in* SALEM, *Maſſachuſetts*, 1796, | By WILLIAM CARLTON. | *Sold at* CUSHING & CARLTON'S *Book Store, at the Bible | and Heart, Eſſex-Street.*" The Volume is in Duodecimo, and contains 318 Pages. The ſecond Salem Edition is in the ſame Form, and contains 309 Pages, excluſive of the Article headed "GILES CORY," which occupies three Pages; hence Copies of this Edition contain 312 Pages. Its Imprint—all in ſmall Capitals—is thus: "Printed in London, A. D. 1700. | Reprinted in Salem, by John D. and T. C. Cuſhing, Jr. | for Cuſhing and Appleton. 1823." The Publiſhers of this Edition added the Article *Giles Cory*, at the Suggeſtion of MR. DAVID PULSIFER, then employed in the Office where the *Witchcraft Records* were kept, as he many Years ago informed me.

The ſecond Salem Edition appears to have been copied from the firſt — that of 1796. In ſome Inſtances ſlight Departures are made from the Copy; and in all theſe, ſuch Departures are alſo Departures from the Original. As late as 1796, it might be expected that ſome Uniformity would have been obſerved, as long as no Exactneſs was intended in reſpect to the kind of Type uſed in reprinting an old Work — Uniformity in denoting Quotations; but there is no Exactneſs in this reſpect in either Edition. In the firſt, as will be ſeen, ſometimes Brackets are uſed to diſtinguiſh Quotations, but generally italic Type is employed for that Purpoſe. In the ſecond, inverted Commas are generally uſed, ſometimes Brackets. I have followed the Original, bracketing and italiciſing as I find it. Inverted Commas to denote Extracts, Quotations and the poſſeſſive Caſe of Nouns have been introduced by Writers and Printers mainly, ſince the Time of Mr. Calef.

Nothing appears in the Book to ſhow whether the Author ſuperintended the printing of it or otherwiſe. He may have reſided in London at the Time of its Publication, although there are ſome Conſiderations that ſeem to lead to the Concluſion that it may have paſſed through the Preſs without his Superviſion; but, as before obſerved, Nothing is known in regard to it, and it is not very probable that Anything more will ever come to Light; yet equally ſtrange Things as that would be, have happened.

Taking Liberties with old Authors is exceedingly diſtaſteful to me, even where well aſſured that an Author would have gladly made a Change himſelf, had a Defect or Deformity been noticed by him; but I have not even aſſumed that Reſponſibility in Mr. Calef's Work. I have done one Thing which the Student ought to thank me for, though he may not. I have placed the Headings of the different Sections at the Commencement of thoſe Sections, throughout the Work.

In the original Edition theſe were omitted, probably on the ſcore of Economy. They alſo ſtand at the Commencement of the Book (as in the Original,) entitled "Index." The Benefit to the Reader, in reprinting the Captions or Contents of a Section or Chapter over ſuch Section or Chapter will be too apparent to require Apology.

The Pagination of the Original is Exactly retained; being placed at the top inner Margin in Brackets, and in the Page where the original Page begins and ends, as was done in the previous Volume.

Pedigree of

Robert Calef, author of More Wonders, probably from England, ſettled in R
Maſs., previous to ~~1700~~ 1688; rented Lands in Dorcheſter,
is ſtyled Clothier; died 13th April, 1719, aged 71,
his Grave-ſtone in the old Burying-ground, Roxbury

- Joſeph, went to Ipſwich as early as 1692; a Phyſician; d. 28th Dec., 1707, in his 36th Year. = Mary; . . . ſhe m., 2dly, Thomas Choate, of Ipſwich.
  - Robert, born 12th Dec., 1693, had a Grant of Mill-privilege in Ipſwich, 1715; died 12th July, 1730. = Margaret, da. of Dea. John Staniford; d. 7th October, 1727.
    - John, b. 1725; Phyſician of great Reſpectability; a Loyaliſt in the Revolution; d. at St. Andrews, N. B., 1812. = Mary, dau. of Nathaniel Rogers, of Ipſwich.
      - John, Capt. of a Veſſel; drowned at Plum Iſland on his return Voyage from the W. Indies, 1782.
      - Margaret, born 15th October, 1748; m. Dr. Daniel Scott, of Boſton.
      - Mary, bapt. 24th March, 1750; m. Capt. John Dutch, of Ipſwich.
    - Joſeph, living in 1754.
  - Joſeph, b. 20th May, 1695, in Ipſwich. Adminiſtrator on Eſtate of his Grandfather.
  - Samuel, b. 25th January, 1697; d. Sept. 1ſt, 1720.
  - Ebenezer.
  - Peter, † (perhaps, Phyſician, of Charleſtown,) d. 11th October, 1735. = Sarah Foſter, 19th July, 1723.
    - Joſeph, bapt. 3d of May, 1724; a Leather-dreſſer.
    - Sarah, Mary, both d. early.
    - Peter, bapt. 26th Oct., 1729, died 1749.
    - Mary, bapt. 23d April, 1732, m. Stephen White, in Waltham, 5th June, 1758.
    - Parnel, bapt. 16th February, 1734-5, m. Dr. Edward Coffin.
      - Thomas Green, living 1740.
      - Bethiah Green, living 1740.
  - Mary.
- John, living 1719
- Jeremiah, living 1719.
- ROBERT, (~~Author of *More Wonders*, &c.~~); Merchant, of Boſton; died near the Cloſe of 1722, or early in 1723, aged about 45. His Children all born in Boſton. = Margare Barton, 23d Dec died befo 1744.

* This Pedigree is given with the Hope that it will tend to intereſt ſome Deſcendant to inveſtigate the Subje of the Name, and has here thrown together ſuch Facts as were among his Memoranda, chiefly made many Years a

† Not much Confidence is felt that the Family given to this PETER is the correct one.

‡ This *James* may not be the one mentioned in *N. Eng. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.*, xiv, 271; but is ſuppoſed to be he

e of Calef.*

Boston
in Roxbury, = Mary . . . . . died November 12th, 1719.
nester, 1709;
ed 71, as by
oxbury.

argaret, dau. of James
rton, of Newton,
d Dec., 1699. She
ed before 17th Sept.,
44.

Martha, m. Solomon Hewes, 28th September, 1700.

Mary, m. Sam'l Stevens, 9th of October, 1712.

Edward, b. Boston 30 Jan. 1688.

Daniel, b. Boston 27 Dec. 1691.

Mary.

bapt.
ebru-
4-5,
Ed-
ffin.

James, b. 21st Dec., 1702, d. young.
—
James, b. 24th Feb., 1711-12, d. young.
—
Robert, b. 9th Mar., $17\frac{16}{17}$, d. young.

Elizabeth, b. 7th May, 1704, living in 1722.
—
Mary, born 25th Jan., 1712-13, died young.

Anne, b. 7th July, 1708, m. Green, li. 1722.

Margaret, b. 4th October, 1710, married Star, li. 1722.

James,‡ b. 7th Nov. 1714, li. 1744, but not in the Province; perhaps the Captive of 1757. = Abigail.

Samuel, a Captive among the Indians with his Father.

een,
.

John Green, living 1740.

Mary Green, living 1740.

Rebeckah Green, living 1740.

Jaspar Star, li. 1740.

Robert Star, li. 1740.

Mary Star, living 1740.

Benjamin Star, li. 1740.

Subject, and to compose a Genealogy worthy of it. The Compiler of this is not acquainted with any
Years ago.

be he.

MEMOIR OF ROBERT CALEF.

WHEN any Man has moral Courage enough to ſpeak plainly againſt any Vices, Follies, or Superſtitions ſurrounding him, he muſt not only be a bold Man, but he does ſo regardleſs of the Coſt; for all Experience teaches that whoever undertakes a Reformation of the Kind muſt experience a Fate not altogether unlike him who waged War with the Philiſtines.

If the Reformer eſcapes the Fury of the Deluded, and lives out his natural Time, he often loſes his ſocial ſtanding; is maligned, ſcoffed, and ſcorned by all whom he expoſed, and a Multitude of thoſe who follow them as their Leaders without knowing wherefore. It is much the ſame now. The Reformer or Corrector of Opinion is hiſſed and ſlandered in Proportion to the Effort he makes. That is to ſay, he is dealt with by Society leniently if he tells the Truth with a Sort of Proviſo; maintains his Poſition without Firmneſs, and gains but few Followers.

Little is known of Robert Calef, aſide from his ſingle Book, and what his Enemies have thought proper to ſay about him in a bitter Spirit of Detraction. He was certainly a Man of good Education; but how he acquired it, where and when, no Mention is found. Dr. Mather, in his Rejoinder to the *More Wonders*, aſſails him at every Point; but his Attainments in Literature he probably viewed as not vulnerable, as he has made no Attack on that Quarter. It is true he accuſes him of being aſſiſted in his Labors, but gives no Clue by which ſuch Aſſiſtance may be known.

Notwithſtanding Mr. Calef had, by his Independence in freely arraigning the abſurd Proceedings againſt thoſe charged with imaginary Crimes, he was not without ſome Popularity in Boſton, his Place of Reſidence, at the Period of thoſe Proſecutions; for in the Records of the Town are found the following Entries concerning him: April 16th, 1694, "Mr. Robert Calfe was choſen Hayward & Fence-viewer, in the Room of Mr. Edward Wyllys, who refuſed to ſerve." May 12th, 1702, he was added to the Number of the Overſeers of the Poor. On the 19th of April, 1704, Thanks were voted him for his Services in that Office. On March 12th, 1704–5, it was ordered that Mr. Calef be not charged with Intereſt on Moneys remaining in his Hands. The next Year, March 10th, 1706–7, he was choſen one of the Aſſeſſors, but declined the Service.

The Time of the Emigration of the Family of Calef, or Calfe, to this Country has not been aſcertained, nor has there been publiſhed any conſiderable Memorial of it. The Name is an old Engliſh one; and were Time beſtowed upon it, many Items might doubtleſs be found in old Authors of Perſons who have borne it. At Preſent but a Reference or two muſt ſuffice. In the Time of Henry III (1216–1270,) a Sir John *Calfe* flouriſhed, on whom a curious Epitaph may be ſeen in *Camden's Remains*. Another John Calfe has an Inſcription to his Memory in St. Nicholas's Church, London, giving 1426 as the Year of his Deceaſe.

It is not very remarkable that ſo little is known of Robert Calef, when it is conſidered that he had almoſt the entire Community againſt him. And leſs is learned about him than might be expected in the Peruſal of his own Book. That his Character was above Reproach is evident from the Replies of Dr. Mather and his Friends, to his Queſtions reſpecting the Proofs of Witchcraft. It helps one's Cauſe but very little, merely to call his Antagoniſt "a Lyar;" and this appears to have been the heavieſt Argument brought againſt Mr. Calef in Anſwer to his Statements.

In Dr. Mather's Account of the *Afflictions* of Margaret Rule, he thus refers to thoſe who differ from him; undoubtedly having ſpecial Reference to Mr. Calef: "Yea, to do like Satan himſelf, by ſly, baſe unpretending Inſinuations, as if I wore not

the Modeſty and Gravity which became a Miniſter of the Goſpel, I could not but think myſelf unkindly dealt withal, and the Neglects of others to do me Juſtice in this Affair has cauſed me to conclude this Narrative in *another hearing* of ſuch monſtrous Injuries."

By "another hearing," is meant that he had or would take legal Steps to ſilence his Opponent; for about the ſame Time the Doctor was ſo annoyed by certain Queries ſent him by Mr. Calef, that he returned him Word by his (Mr. Calef's) Bearer, that he would have him arreſted for Slander, as he was "one of the worſt of Lyars." This the Doctor proclaimed alſo in his Pulpit. Yet Mr. Calef was always reſpectful in his Language in return, for anything that appears to the contrary.

On the 29th of September, 1693, Mr. Calef addreſſed Dr. Mather a Note, requeſting that he would meet him at either of the Bookſellers, Richard Wilkins or Benjamin Harris. Mr. Calef deſired this Meeting that they might examine together the Memoranda of what he had noted after viſiting the "poſſeſſed" or bewitched Perſon, Margaret Rule. At that Viſit were alſo both the Doctors Mather, Father and Son. Meantime Mr. Calef was complained of and taken into Cuſtody, on the Charge of having committed a ſcandalous Libel on Mr. Mather the younger; the Complaint being made by both. Mr. Calef ſtates that he did not remember that he had been

charged with Untruth in his Report of the Examination of Margaret; but it was aſſerted that he had wronged Dr. Mather by his Omiſſions. To which Mr. Calef replied, that he had reported only what *he* ſaw and heard himſelf.

As to the Proſecution for Libel, Mr. Calef ſays he was taken to the Court of Seſſions, and after waiting a while for his Accuſers, none appeared. He was therefore diſmiſſed. He had had a Promiſe from Dr. Mather to meet him to compare Notes, but it does not appear that any Time was ſtated; and after ſeveral Months had elapſed Mr. Calef wrote, requeſting him to fix upon a Time and Place of Meeting. A Meeting however never occurred, of the Kind deſired; but, as the only Means of getting the Doctor's Views of what he had written, he ſent him a Copy of his Notes on Margaret Rule's Exhibitions, two of which he ſeems to have witneſſed. On the 15th of January, 1693–4, the Doctor wrote him a long Letter, in which he ſays: "I have this to ſay, as I have often already ſaid, that do I ſcarcely find any one Thing in the whole Paper, whether reſpecting my Father or ſelf, either fairly or truly repreſented." The *Fairneſs* on both Sides may be judged of, as both Papers will be found in the enſuing Work, Pages 13–22.

The Doctor ſent the Author, accompanying his Letter, Copies of three Depoſitions, or Statements from ſeveral Perſons, to the Effect that what he had ſtated regarding the ſtrange Conduct

of Margaret Rule was true; eſpecially as to the Fact, that ſhe was by inviſible Hands raiſed from her Bed up to the Garret Floor, and that ſtrong Men, the Byſtanders, could not hold her down. The Height of the Room is not mentioned; but one Witneſs, Samuel Aves, ſays it was "a great Way;" that ſhe was lifted "towards the Top of the Room." Three others ſaid, this was "in Subſtance true." Alſo, Thomas Thornton, a Paver, ſaid ſhe was lifted up, "ſo as to touch the Garret Floor;" to which William Hudſon aſſented in "Subſtance." All of which Teſtimonies, Mr. Calef ventured to inſinuate was about as true, as a Report would be that Iron would ſwim on Water; that if that Riſing in the Air without Hands actually took place, it was a Miracle, and if a Miracle it was wrought by the Devil. And yet it ſeems that Mr. Calef believed none but God himſelf could work Miracles.

Between the Date of his laſt Letter and the 19th of February, 1693–4, inſtead of anſwering Mr. Calef's Letter, Dr. Mather ſent him Word that his Library was open to him, intimating that he might find there Anſwers to any and all of his Objections and Difficulties. But Mr. Calef did not avail himſelf of the Kindneſs thus tendered, though he thanked him by Letter, and. at the ſame Time complained that he had not written him, pointing out what he conceived to be Errors in his former Communications; adding, "if you think Silence a Virtue in this Caſe, I ſhall (I

ſuppoſe) ſo far comply with it as not to looſe you any more Time to look over my Papers." This however did not end the Correſpondence; for on the 16th of April following he addreſſed a Letter to the Doctor, calling his Attention to certain Paſſages in the *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, and ſome other "late Books of his and his Relations." After ſtating a few of the Author's ſtrange Aſſertions, ſuch as that the Devil cauſes Wars, Plagues, and other Calamities; that the Devil is a great Linguiſt; that Suicides "are the Effects of a cruel & bloody Witchcraft," and ſeveral other ſimilar Quotations. In cloſing this Letter, he remarks that he is only performing what he believes to be his Duty; that he is far from doing it to gain Applauſe, or from a Love of Contention; that, on the other Hand, he expected to make many Enemies by it.

The next Letter which he wrote to Mr. Mather was dated March the 1ſt, 1694–5. In this he ſays he had waited more than a Year "for the Performance of a reiterated Promiſe" from him, to reply to Arguments which he had ſent for his Refutation or Approval. Inſtead of that promiſed Anſwer, he had received, through the Hand of a third Perſon, "four Sheets of recinded Papers." Theſe were delivered under an Injunction that no Copy was to be taken of them, and he was allowed to keep them but a Fortnight. He has given ſome Account of thoſe "four Sheets," and obſerves that he does not won-

der at not being allowed to copy them, as they contained ſo much "crude Matter and impertinent Abſurdities." Among other Things, he ſent Mr. Calef Baxter's *World of Spirits*, characterizing it an *ungainſayable* Book; upon which Mr. Calef remarks, as aptly as ſignificantly, that he knows of no "ungainſayable" Book but the Bible, and thinks no other Man who had ever read it would ſo ſtyle it except its Author. He is probably correct when he attributes to Mr. Baxter the Weakneſs incident to old Age, in allowing his Name to appear as the Author of *The Certainty of the World of Spirits*. But his own Words are more to the Point: "As to the ſometime Reverend Author, let his Works praiſe the Remembrance of him; but for ſuch as are either Erroneous and foiſted upon him, or the Effect of an aged Imbecility, let them be detected that they may proceed no further."

The Experience of Mr. Calef was ſimilar, probably, to that of moſt Reformers, both before and ſince his Time. To combat ſimilar Superſtitions at this Day would be nearly or quite as hazardous as it was then. Indeed, there have been Caſes within ſome thirty Years in New England, in which Individuals have fared much worſe than Robert Calef did in Boſton more than an hundred Years before, and for no offence worthy of Notice; neither had an Eighth of the Community a Voice in this Perſecution, while in Mr. Calef's Caſe nine Tenths of the whole Peo-

ple probably were crying out againſt him. The Villainy of a ſingle Lawyer, and the Imbecility of a Judge may ſometimes ſucceed in ruining for a Time the Character of any Citizen.

Mr. Calef ſeems to have been almoſt alone in the Warfare he had undertaken. "How Few," he ſays, "are willing to be found oppoſing ſuch a Torrent, as knowing, that in ſo doing, they ſhall be ſure to meet with Oppoſition to the utmoſt, from the many, both of Magiſtrates, Miniſters and people; and the name of Sadducee, Atheiſt, and perhaps Witch too caſt upon them moſt liberally, by Men of the higheſt Profeſſion in Godlineſs."

Owing to the peculiar State of the Times when Mr. Calef wrote, he felt himſelf obliged to admit a great Deal that a Writer at a later Day would not have found it Neceſſary. This will account for ſome heavy Papers introduced into the Body of his Work. He had a moſt difficult Taſk to perform. Like the Mariner in a Tempeſt upon a Lee Shore, he needed an Eye on every Point of the Compaſs, and a deep Sea Lead ever in Hand.

What Overtures, if any, he made to Printers in Boſton to print his Books, are unknown. It is pretty certain, however, that no One would have dared to undertake it. And what Agency, if any, he employed to have it done Abroad, is equally unknown. But one Thing is known; no Book-ſeller had the Hardihood to offer it for Sale, or dared to give it Shop-room. He had a few

Friends who ſtood by him, ready to ſhield him, as far as was conſiſtent with their own Safety, but none had the Boldneſs to come out ſo openly as he did. Some wrote ſtrongly againſt the Deluſion, but not for Publication; as Brattle of Cambridge, Cary of Charleſtown, and Robert Paine. The Work of the laſt named Gentleman has not been made public, and remains in private Hands. It is ſaid to be a moſt maſterly Refutation of the Arguments made uſe of againſt Witches, written in the Time of the Trials. But it ſeems, on a careful Peruſal of Mr. Calef's *More Wonders*, that not much more can be ſaid (admitting or deferring to a Sort of Authority which cannot be argued from,) to ſhow the utter Abſurdity of the Proceedings on the Witch Trials. He has, it muſt be admitted, exhauſted the Subject. It is very eaſy, it is true, to ſay the ſame Thing, uſing different and more elegant Language, according to the preſent Standard of Elegance; but for cloſe and ſuccinct Argument, the Author has not been ſurpaſſed by his Succeſſors. His Statement of Apology for thoſe poor People who had confeſſed themſelves Witches, and accuſed others, is highly ſatisfactory.

now printed at end of Upham's Salem Witchcraft.

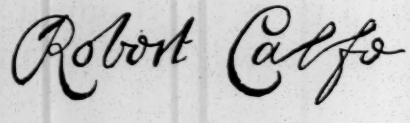
Mr. Calef poſſeſſed more than ordinary Attainments in Literature; he was no Stranger to legal Forms; and as to theological Learning, was, for Soundneſs of Argument, quite ſuperior to thoſe who were in the Field againſt him. Theſe Facts excite a Deſire to know more of his Hiſtory;

for all that has been learned about him, is that he was a "Merchant of Boſton," and that he was a Dealer in woolen Goods; and hence the Attempt of a narrow minded Oppoſition to claſs him among the Ordinary and Illiterate of the Time They alſo deſcended to vulgar Epithets, calling him a *Calf;* his Book they call a "Firebrand, thrown by a Mad-man;" and, "it was highly rejoycing to us, when we heard that our Bookſellers were ſo well acquainted with the Integrity of our Paſtors, as not one of them would admit of thoſe Libels to be vended in their Shops." This was the Language of the Men who publiſhed "Some few Remarks, upon a *Scandalous Book*.....written by one Robert Calef," with the Motto—"Truth will come off Conqueror." This Publication is dated "January 9th, 1700–1," and purports to have been drawn up by Obadiah Gill, John Barnard, John Goodwin, William Robie, Timothy Wadſworth, Robert Cumbey, and George Robinſon; none of whom were Men of ſpecial Note then or afterwards. It ſhould be obſerved, however, that they were Members of the Old North Church. Any further Notice of the Anſwer to the *More Wonders* is unneceſſary here; but it will be uſed in the Notes occaſionally, that the "*Slandered*" may ſpeak for themſelves.

It was probably about the Time of the Iſſue of the *Some Few Remarks* that the *More Wonders* was cauſed to be burnt in the College Yard at

Cambridge, by Order of the Preſident, Dr. Increaſe Mather. The Burning was doubtleſs performed with much of Ceremony and Formality, but there does not appear to have been any Record made of it upon the College Books; or if ſo, the Hiſtorians of the Inſtitution have not mentioned it. This Kind of *Argument* againſt what is ſet forth in a Book, is about as effectual as that employed againſt the Tide of the Ocean by an eaſtern Monarch. That the Preſident of the College had no great Faith in his *Argument*, is pretty clear, or ſo much Pains would not have been taken by him in making another Book to refute the Arguments contained in the one he had burned.

The preciſe Date of Mr. Calef's Death is not upon any Records which have been examined; and the laſt Time he appears to have tranſacted any Buſineſs requiring his Signature, was at the Regiſtry of Deeds, then under the official Management of John Ballantine, Eſq., when he releaſed a Mortgage which he held of certain Lands in Roxbury; which Mortgage was given by Joſeph Holland and his Wife Elizabeth, and dated the 11th of March, 1720. [Of courſe, 1721, N. S.] The Releaſe was ſigned by the Mortgagor, April 11th, 1722. His Signature on this Occaſion has been copied, and is here preſented.



But a ſhort Time previous to this Tranſaction he deeded certain Property to his Children. In this Inſtrument, dated February 10th, 1721, [1722, N. S.,] he ſtyles himſelf Clothier, and names Children, Elizabeth, Ann, Margaret and James. Two Houſes and Land; one in preſent Poſſeſſion of James Smith; the other in his own Poſſeſſion; bounded N. W. upon —— Street, N. E. upon Thomas Wheeler, S. E. upon William Gold, and S. W. upon Bond Street; alſo one Tract of Land in Brookline; alſo a Mortgage from James Barton, Ropemaker, reſerving to himſelf and his now married Wife the Uſe of the Premiſes during their Lives.

The following is an Abſtract of his Will:

"I Robert Calfe of Boſton, being now in ſound Body and Minde doe make this my laſt Will [and] appoint my well beloved Wife Executrix. After funerall Charges and all Other my juſt Debtts being paide, my Will is that my Wife [have] all my Eſtate during her Widdowhood; and in Caſe ſhe ſee Caus to alter her Condition by Marraig, that then ſhe ſhall quitt her Adminiſterſhip, and the Improvement of the Eſtate, wholey to be for the Bennefitt of my Children; only two hundred Pounds I will unto her upon her Marraig, and the whoolly Remainder to be diſpoſte of as followe: Son James £100, when of Age more then any of the Reſt of my Children: And allſo I give £200 ought of ſaid Eſtate for defraying the Charges of bringing him up

His wife was Margaret Barton. See Savage's Gen. Dict., s. v. Barton. S. C. B.

to the Collig, if he inclines to Larning, but if not then to be equaley divided among him and the Reſt of my Children, viz. Elizabeth, Ann and Margaret, together with what Children it ſhall plees God to give me by my preſent Wife: And it is my Will that my Daughters, Elizabeth, Ann and Margaret have an equall Proportion of all my Eſtate, Perſonall and Reall, only what is before excepted unto my Son James, and that they be paid upon Marraig or at the Diſcretion of my Executrix, if ſhe remain a Widow, and if it pleaſe God to take away my Children by Death before of Age or without Iſſue the whole of my Eſtate to return to my Wife or to her Diſpoſe.

2d of Jan., 1720. Ro: Calfe

"In Preſence of Samll Wentworth, John Alden, Jr. and John Tyler.

"Margaret Calfe preſented the within Will for Probat and John Alden, Junr and John Tyler made Oath, &c. and they together with Saml Wentworth, who is now out of the Province ſet to their Hands as Witneſſes in the Teſtator's Preſence. Boſton, Feb. 18th, 1722–3.

"SAMUEL SEWALL J Probt"

The Teſtator was too ill, it is probable, to draw up his Will himſelf, or one ſo unclerical would not have appeared. The Circumſtances, how-

ever, under which it was made, are entirely conjectural. His Wife was living, a Widow, till about 1744; as in September of that Year her Will was proved. It was made four Years before, namely, September 17th, 1740. The Items of Intereſt in it here follow:

"To Grandſon Thomas Green £60; to Margaret Green £20, and a ſilver Porringer which her Father now has. To Ann Green £30, and a gold Necklace. To Bethiah Green £20. To John Green £20. To Mary Green £20, and to Rebeckah Green £30; all the Children of my Daughter Ann Green deceaſed. To Daughter Margaret Star's four Children, namely, to Joſeph, £20; Robert, £20; Mary, £20; and Benjamin Star, £20. Clothing to be divided between Daughter Star, and Grand Daughter, Ann Green. The Remainder of Eſtate to be divided between Daughter Margaret Star and Son James Calf; ſaid Son to be Executor if in the Province; otherwiſe, Couſin Thomas Simpkins.

"*Dated*, January 2d, 1720. *Signed*,

"MARGARET CALF.

? Sept. 17, 1740 (Ann Calef was born in 1708, Margaret in 1710).

"Witneſſes — Abigail Weſt, Barnabas Gibbs, John Swinnerton."

It was preſented for Probate by Thomas Simpkins; James Calf being out of the Province.

In the General Court Records Notice is given, under Date June 25th, 1723, of a "Petition of Margaret Calef, Widow, and ſole Executrix of

the laſt Will of Robert Calef, late of Boſton, Merchant, deceaſed," praying for Leave to ſell a ſeventh Part of a Houſe and Land in Roxbury, of which ſaid Robert Calef died ſeized. The Father of Mr. Calef, alſo named Robert, had died inteſtate, April 13th, 1719, and his Wife on the 12th of November following. In the Settlement of his Eſtate, it is ſtated that the "Houſing and Lands lying in Roxbury, cannot be divided without Prejudice and Injury;" hence the Petition before mentioned.

A few Items here follow, given for the Benefit of thoſe who may hereafter deſire to inveſtigate the Hiſtory of the Calef Family;

Dr. Joſeph Calef died at Ipſwich, Dec. 31ſt, 1707, leaving a Wife, and Children, Robert, Joſeph, Samuel, Ebenezer, Peter and Mary. This was, doubtleſs the Emigrant to Ipſwich, where, in 1692, he had a Grant for a Fulling-mill. Joſeph Calef was a Scout in Capt. John Goff's Company in 1746. Mary, Widow of Joſeph Calef, married Thomas Choate of Ipſwich; Date of Marriage is not ſtated. Joſeph Calef was of Boſton, 1746, in which Year he petitioned, with others, for the Paving of Atkinſon Street.

James Calef and his Son Samuel were Captives among the Indians and French; were taken at Fort William Henry, in Auguſt, 1757. Abigail, the Wife of James and Mother of Samuel, made Application in their behalf to the Authorities of the Province. No Mention is made of

their place of Reſidence. Dr. John Calef, of Ipſwich, married Margaret, Daughter of Nathaniel and Mary (Leverett) Rogers, of the ſame Town. He was born 1725.

After the bloody Fight at Pequawket, Governor Dummer wrote to Eleazer Tyng: "Send down to me forthwith by the Bearer hereof, Mr. Calef, the moſt intelligent Perſon among Lovell's Men returned, that I may have a perfect Account of that Action." What Mr. Calef this was, does not with certainty appear.

A Mrs. Mary Calfe died at Concord, N. H., Auguſt 10, 1817, aged ninety-eight Years. Her firſt Huſband was Samuel Bradley, who was killed by the Indians, Auguſt 11th, 1746. She afterwards married Robert Calfe, Eſq., of Cheſter, in the ſame State. This is on the Authority of Mr. Bouton, in his *Hiſtory of Concord*, who, in another Place, ſays Calfe's Name was Richard. Whether Richard or Robert, he was probably a Deſcendant of James, the only ſurviving Son of Robert, the "Merchant of Boſton." The maiden Name of Mrs. Calfe was Folſom.

When the Federal Conſtitution of New Hampſhire was adopted (1788,) John Calfe, Eſq., was choſen Secretary of the Convention. He was alſo Secretary in 1791, when the Conſtitution was reviſed. His Son Joſeph died at Hampſtead, N. H., Auguſt 6, 1854, aged 79. A John Calef was in the Old Mill Priſon, England, 1789. Jeremiah Calef, a Native of Exeter, N. H., died at

Northfield, 23d February, 1856, aged 73 Years, 10 Months. James, an only Brother of Jeremiah, died at Sanbornton, 30th March, 1856, aged 71.

Robert Calef was an eminent Ship-maſter between Boſton and London before the Revolution. His Arrival on one Occaſion is thus noticed in the *Gazette and News-Letter* of April 5th, 1764: "In Captain Calef came Paſſengers, the Captains, Edward Wendell, John Marſhall, and Doctor Marſhall of this Town. Mrs. McTaggart, and her Son Gray of this Town, died of the Small-pox in London." The Autographs of ſeveral of the Name of Calef (always ſo ſpelt) are in the Writer's Poſſeſſion from 1755 to 1780. In 1755, Joſeph was engaged in ſupplying Ships with Water. In 1767, Joſeph Calef, probably the ſame, was largely in the leather Trade. He was a Tanner, and his Tan-yard was in the Neighborhood of the Old Boſton Theatre.

What Time the Family of Robert Calef came to this Country has not been aſcertained. It was probably in the latter Half of the ſeventeenth Century, and our Author may have had his Education before his Emigration. This View may be conſidered probable, from a Paſſage in his Preface to the *More Wonders*, &c.

After the Above was written, it came to my Notice, that in a Volume iſſued by the *Maſs. Hiſt. Soc.*, were ſome Extracts from the *Diary* of Cotton Mather. Alſo the following, concerning

Robert Calef, in a Memorandum-book of Dr. Belknap: "Robert Calef, Author of *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, was a Native of England; a young Man of good Sense, and free from Superstition; a Merchant in Boston. He was furnished with Materials for his Work by Mr. Brattle, of Cambridge; and his Brother, of Boston; and other Gentlemen, who were opposed to the *Salem* Proceedings. E. P." [Ebenezer Pemberton?]

MORE

WONDERS

OF THE

INVISIBLE WORLD:

Or, The Wonders of the

Invisible World,

Diſplay'd in Five Parts.

Part I. An Account of the Sufferings of *Margaret Rule*, Written by the Reverend Mr. C. M.

P. II. Several Letters to the Author, *&c.* And his Reply relating to Witchcraft.

P. III. The Differences between the Inhabitants of *Salem* Village, and Mr. *Parris* their Miniſter, in *New-England.*

P. IV. Letters of a Gentleman unintereſted, Endeavouring to prove the received Opinions about Witchcraft to be Orthodox. With ſhort Eſſays to their Anſwers.

P. V. A ſhort Hiſtorical Accout of Matters of Fact in that Affair.

To which is added, A Poſtſcript relating to a Book intitled, *The Life of Sir* WILLIAM PHIPS.

Collected by *Robert Calef*, Merchant, of *Boſton* in *New-England.*

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON:

Printed for *Nath. Hillar*, at the *Princes-Arms*, in *Leaden-Hall-ſtreet*, over againſt St. *Mary-Ax*, and *Joſeph Collyer*, at the *Golden-Bible*, on *London-Bridge.* 1700.

[1] The Epiſtle to the READER.

And more eſpecially to the Noble *Bereans*[1] of this *Age*, wherever Reſiding.

Gentlemen,

YOU that are freed from the Slauery of a corrupt Education; and that in ſpite of human Precepts, Examples and Precſidents, can hearken to the Dictates of Scripture and Reaſon:

For your ſakes I am content, that theſe Collections of mine, as alſo my Sentiments ſhould be expoſed to publick view; In hopes that having well conſidered, and compared them with Scripture, you will ſee reaſon, as I do, to queſtion a belief ſo prevalent (as that here treated of) as alſo the practice flowing from thence; they ſtanding as nearly connext as cauſe and effect; it being found wholly impracticable, to extirpate the latter without firſt curing the former.

And if the Buffoon or Satyrical will be exerciſing their Talents, or if the Bigots wilfully and blindly reject the Teſtimonies of their own Reaſon, and more ſure word, it is no more than what I expected from them.

But you Gentlemen, I doubt not are willing to Diſtinguiſh between Truth and Error, and if this may be any furtherance to you herein, I ſhall not miſs my Aim.

But if you find the contrary, and that my belief herein is any way Heterodox, I ſhall be thankful for the Information to any Learned or Reverend Perſon, or others, that ſhall take that pains to inform

[1] In both the ſecond and third Editions this Name is printed *Barons*. The Printer probably not knowing what elſe to make of it. The Inhabitants of ancient *Beræa* were called *Beræans*. The preſent *Aleppo* occupies the Site. For the Point, ſee *Acts*, xvii, 11.

me better by Scripture, or ſound Reaſon, which is what I have been long ſeeking for in this Country in vain.[2]

In a time when not only England *in particular, but almoſt all* Europe *had been labouring againſt the Uſurpations of Tyranny and Slavery. The* Engliſh, America *has not been behind in a ſhare in the Common calamities; more eſpecially* New-England, *has met not only with ſuch calamities as are common to the reſt, but with ſeveral aggravations enhanſing ſuch Afflictions, by the Devaſtations and Cruelties of the Barbarous* Indians *in their* Eaſtern *borders*, &c.

But this is not all, they have been harraſt (on many accounts) by a more dreadful Enemy, as will herein appear to the conſiderate.

P. 66. Were it as we are told in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, that the Devils were walking about our Streets with lengthned Chains making a dreadful noiſe in our Ears, and Brimſtone, even without a Metaphor, was making a horrid and a helliſh ſtench in our Noſtrils.[3] P. 49.

And That the Devil exhibiting himſelf ordinarily as a black-Man, had decoy'd a fearful knot of Proud, Froward, Ignorant, Envious and Malitious Creatures, to liſt themſelves in his horrid Service, by entring their Names in a Book tendered unto them; and that they have had their Meetings and Sacraments, and aſſociated themſelves to deſtroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus

[2] This is the Remark that led me to think the Author was not a Native of New England. An Extract by Dr. Belknap, noted in the accompanying Memoir is corroborative of the Conjecture.

[3] See Vol. I, Pages 121-2. Cotemporary with the Author, we find that eminent Divine, Michael Wiggleſworth, thus poetically impreſſing upon the Readers of his Poem the Horrors ſpoken of in the Text:

Whom having brought as they are taught,
Unto the Brink of Hell,
(That Diſmal Place far from Chriſts Face,
Where Death and Darkneſs dwell:
Where Gods fierce Ire kindleth the Fire,
And Vengeance feeds the Flame
With Piles of Wood, and Brimſtone Flood,
That none can quench the ſame.

Day of Doom, Stanza 208.

Chriſt, in theſe parts of the World; having each of them their Spectres, or Devils Commiſſionated by them, and [2] repreſenting of them to be the Engines of their Malice, by theſe wicked Spectres, ſiezing poor People about the Country, with various and bloody Torments. And of thoſe evidently preternatural Torments ſome to have died. And that they have bewitched ſome even ſo far, as to make them ſelf deſtroyers, and others in many Towns, here and there languiſh'd under their evil hands. The People, thus afflicted, miſerably ſcratch'd and bitten; and that the ſame Inviſible Furies did ſtick Pins in them, and ſcal'd them, diſtort and disjoint them, with a Thouſand other Plagues; and ſometimes drag them out of their Chambers, and carry them over Trees, and Hills Miles together, many of them being tempted to ſign the Devils Laws.

P. 7. *Thoſe furies whereof ſeveral have killed more People perhaps than would ſerve to make a Village. If this be the true ſtate of the Afflictions of this Country, it is very deplorable, and beyond all other outward Calamities miſerable. But if on the other ſide, the Matter be as others do underſtand it, That the Devil has been too hard for us by his Temptations, ſigns, and lying Wonders, with the help of pernicious notions, formerly imbibed and profeſſed; together with the Accuſations of a parcel of poſſeſſed, diſtracted, or lying Wenches, accuſing their Innocent Neighbours, pretending they ſee their Spectres* (i. e.) *Devils in their likeneſs Afflicting of them, and that God in righteous Judgement,* (*after Men had aſcribed his Power to Witches, of commiſſionating Devils to do theſe things*) *may have given them over to ſtrong deluſions to believe lyes. &c And to let looſe the Devils of Envy, Hatred, Pride, Cruelty and Malice againſt each other; yet ſtill diſguiſed under the Maſk of Zeal for God, and left them to the branding one another, with the odious Name of Witch; and upon the Accuſation of thoſe*

above mentioned, Brother to Accuſe and Proſecute Brother, Children their Parents, Paſtors and Teachers their immediate Flock unto death; Shepherds becoming Wolves, Wiſe Men Infatuated; People hauled to Priſons, with a bloody noiſe purſuing to, and inſulting over, the (true) Sufferers at Execution, while ſome are fleeing from that called Juſtice, Juſtice itſelf fleeing before ſuch Accuſations, when once it did but begin to refrain further proceedings; and to queſtion ſuch Practiſes, ſome making their Eſcape out of Priſons, rather than by an obſtinate Defence of their Innocency, to run ſo apparent hazard of their Lives; Eſtates ſeized, Families of Children and others left to the Mercy of the Wilderneſs (not to mention here the Numbers preſcribed, dead in Priſons, or Executed, &c.)

All which Tragedies, tho begun in one Town, or rather by one Pariſh, has Plague-like ſpread more than through that Country. And by its Eccho giving a brand of Infamy to this whole Country, throughout the World.

If this were the Miſerable caſe of this Country in the time thereof, and that the Devil had ſo far prevailed upon us in our Sentiments and Actions, as to draw us from ſo much as looking into the Scriptures for our guidance in theſe pretended Intricacies, leading us to a truſting in blind guides, ſuch as the corrupt practices of ſome other Countries or the bloody Experiments of Bodin,[4] [3] *and ſuch other Authors. Then tho our Caſe be moſt miſerable, yet it muſt be ſaid of* New-England, *Thou haſt deſtroyed thyſelf, and brought this greateſt of Miſeries upon thee.*

[4] John Bodin was a Frenchman of great Learning, born at Angers 1530. Some of his Hiſtorical Works were formerly in great Repute in England as well as in France. His Work referred to above was publiſhed at Paris in 1579, under the Title *La Démonomanie, ou Traite des Sorciers,* in 4to. It is full of all thoſe Superſtitions for which the Age in which the Author lived is celebrated. See Camerarius, *Living Library,* Page 2, Edition 1625, *Fol.* See alſo Mr. Fowler's intereſting Note to the laſt Salem Edition of *Salem Witchcraft,* P. ix.

And now whether the Witches (ſuch as have made a compact by Explicit Covenant with the Devil, having thereby obtained a power to Commiſſionate him) have been the cauſe of our miſeries.

Or whether a Zeal governed by blindneſs and paſſion, and led by preſident, has not herein precipitated us into far greater wickedneſs (if not Witchcrafts) than any have been yet proved againſt thoſe that ſuffered.

To be able to diſtinguiſh aright in this matter, to which of theſe two to refer our Miſeries is the preſent Work. As to the former, I know of no ſober Man, much leſs Reverend Chriſtian, that being aſk'd dares affirm and abide by it, that Witches have that power; viz. *to Commiſſionate Devils to kill and deſtroy. And as to the latter, it were well if there were not too much of truth in it, which remains to be demonſtrated.*

But here it will be ſaid, what need of Raking in the Coals that lay buried in oblivion. We cannot recal thoſe to Life again that have ſuffered, ſuppoſing it were unjuſtly; it tends but to the expoſing the Actors, as if they had proceeded irregularly.

Truly I take this to be juſt as the Devil would have it, ſo much to fear diſobliging men, as not to endeavour to detect his Wiles, that ſo he may the ſooner, and with the greater Advantages ſet the ſame on foot again (either here or elſewhere) ſo dragging us through the Pond twice by the ſame Cat.[5] *And if Reports do not (herein) deceive us, much the ſame has been acting this preſent year in* Scotland. *And what Kingdom or Country is it, that has not had their bloody fits and turns at it. And if this is ſuch a catching diſeaſe, and ſo univerſal, I preſume I need make no Apology for my Endeavours to prevent, as far as in my power, any more ſuch bloody Victims or*

[5] That is by the ſame Cord, or Rope. In nautical Uſage, a Rope to do or perform a certain Service. The Anchor was formerly hoiſted to the Head of a certain bow Timber to which it was faſtened by the *Cat* Rope; hence the Timber is called the *Cat-head.*

Sacrifices; tho indeed I had rather any other would have undertaken ſo offenſive, tho neceſſary a taſk; yet all things weighed, I had rather thus Expoſe myſelf to Cenſure, than that it ſhould be wholly omitted. Were the notions in queſtion, innocent and harmleſs, reſpecting the glory of God, and well being of Men, I ſhould not have engaged in them, but finding them in my eſteem, ſo intollerably deſtructive of both. This together with my being by Warrant called before the Juſtices, in my own Juſt Vindication, I took it to be a call from God, to my Power, to Vindicate his Truths againſt the Pagan *and* Popiſh *Aſſertions, which are ſo prevalent; for tho Chriſtians in general do own the Scriptures to be their only Rule of Faith and Doctrine, yet theſe Notions will tell us, that the Scriptures have not ſufficiently, nor at all deſcribed the crime of Witchcraft, whereby the culpable might be detected, tho it be poſitive in the Command to puniſh it by Death; hence the World has been from time to time perplext in the proſecution of the ſeveral Diabolical mediums of Heatheniſh and Popiſh Invention, to detect an Imaginary Crime (not but that there are Witches, ſuch as the Law of God* [4] *deſcribes)*[6] *which has produced a deluge of Blood; hereby rendering the Commands of God not only void but dangerous.*

So alſo they own Gods Providence and Government of the World, and that Tempeſts and Storms, Afflictions and Diſeaſes are of his ſending; yet theſe Notions tell us, that the Devil has the power of all theſe, and can perform them when commiſſion'd by a Witch thereto, and that he has a power at the Witches call to act and do, without and againſt the courſe of Nature, and all natural cauſes, in afflicting and killing of Innocents; and this is that ſo many have died for.

[6] It will elſewhere be ſeen that the Author makes it pretty clear, that to diſcover Witches by that Law, or who they are, has never been done. It was therefore eaſy to argue that Witches never would be diſcovered by it. In other Words where nothing is looked for nothing will be found. This Subject will be found diſcuſſed elſewhere.

Alſo it is generally believed, that if any Man has ſtrength, it is from God the Almighty Being: but theſe notions will tell us, that the Devil can make one Man as ſtrong as many, which was one of the beſt proofs, as it was counted, againſt Mr. Burroughs *the Miniſter; tho his contemporaries in the Schools during his Minority could have teſtified, that his ſtrength was then as much ſuperior to theirs as ever*[7] *(ſetting aſide incredible Romances) it was diſcovered to be ſince. Thus rendering the power of God, and his providence of none Effect.*

Theſe are ſome of the deſtructive notions of this Age, and however the aſſerters of them ſeem ſometimes to value themſelves much upon ſheltring their Neighbors from Spectral Accuſations. They may deſerve as much thanks as that Tyrant, that having induſtriouſly obtained an unintelligible charge againſt his Subjects, in matters wherein it was impoſſible they ſhould be Guilty, having thereby their lives in his power, yet ſuffers them of his meer Grace to live, and will be call'd gracious Lord.

It were too Icarian[8] *a taſk for one unfurniſh'd with neceſſary learning, and Library, to give any Juſt account, from whence ſo great deluſions have ſprung, and ſo long continued. Yet as an Eſſay from thoſe ſcraps of reading that I have had opportunity of; it will be no great venture to ſay, that Signs and Lying Wonders have been one principal cauſe.*

[7] Samuel Webber, aged about 36, teſtified that ſome ſeven or eight Years ago he lived at Caſco Bay, where Mr. B. was Miniſter. Having heard much of his great Strength, and coming to his Houſe, and in Diſcourſe about it, he told the ſaid Webber that he had put his Fingers into the Bung of a Barrel of "Malaſes" and lifted it up and carried it round him. See *Records of Salem Witchcraft* (by Woodward) ii, 113. See alſo ſundry other Teſtimonies about Mr. Burroughs's great Strength, *ib.*, 123-5. Alſo (Vol. I, 153,) *The Wonders of the Inviſible World.*

[8] The Author's claſſical Learning was probably not very extenſive. The Uſe of this mythical Name however may have been according to its Acceptation in his Time.

It is written of Juſtin Martyr,[9] *who lived in the ſecond Century, that he was before his converſion a great Philoſopher; firſt in the way of the* Stoicks, *and after, of the* Peripateticks, *after that of the* Pythagorean, *and after that of the* Platoniſts *ſects; and after all proved of Eminent uſe in the Church of Chriſt; yet a certain Author ſpeaking of one* Apollonius Tyaneus[10] *has theſe words* [That the moſt Orthodox themſelves began to deem him veſted with power ſufficient for a Deity; which occaſioned that ſo ſtrange a doubt from *Juſtin Martyr*, as cited by the learned *Gregory*, Fol. 37. Ει Θεος ζσι *&c.* If God be the creator and Lord of the World, how comes it to paſs that *Apollonius* his *Teliſms*, have ſo much over-ruled the courſe of things! for we ſee that they alſo have ſtilled the Waves of the Sea; and the raging of the Winds, and prevailed againſt the Noiſome Flies, and Incurſions of wild Beaſts,] *&c. If ſo Eminent and Early a Chriſtian were by theſe falſe ſhews in ſuch doubt, it is the leſs wonder in our depraved times, to meet with what is Equivalent thereto: Beſides this a certain Author informs me, that* [Julian (*afterwards called the Apoſtate*) *being inſtructed in the Philoſophy and Diſciplines of the Heathen, by* Libarius *his Tutor, by this* [5] *means he came to love Philoſophy better than the Goſpel, and ſo by degrees turn'd from Chriſtianity to Heatheniſm.*]

[9] The Reader will not find, as he has a Right to expect, this Name in the common Biographical Works. In the large Work of *Chaudon et Delandine* is a ſatisfactory Article under the Head Juſtin; who was a Martyr of the ſecond Century; yet we meet with the Name conſtantly in Hiſtory, as *Juſtin Martyr*; Martyr being added to his proper Name, to denote that he had ſuffered Martyrdom. He is alſo ſtyled *St. Juſtin.*

[10] Apollonius *Thyaneus*, according to Lempriere. A Pythagorian Philoſopher, well ſkilled in the Arts of Magic; who, "one Day haranguing the Populace at Epheſus, he ſuddenly exclaimed: 'Strike the Tyrant, ſtrike him; the Blow is given, he is wounded and fallen!' At that very Moment the Emperor Domitian had been ſtabbed at Rome. The Magician acquired much Reputation when the Circumſtance was known."

This ſame Julian *did, when* Apoſtate, *forbid that Chriſtians ſhould be inſtructed in the Diſcipline of the* Gentiles, *which (it ſeems)* Socrates *a Writer of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, does acknowledge to be by the ſingular Providence of God; Chriſtians having then begun to degenerate from the Goſpel, and to betake themſelves to Heatheniſh learning. And in the* Mercury *for the Month of* February, 1695, *there is this Account* [That the Chriſtian Doctors converſing much with the writings of the *Heathen*, for the gaining of Eloquence. A Counſel was held at *Carthage*, which forbad the reading of the Books of the *Gentiles*.]

From all which it may be eaſily perceived, that in the Primitive times of Chriſtianity, when not only many Heathen of the Vulgar; but alſo many learn'd Men and Philoſophers had imbraced the Chriſtian Faith; they ſtill retained a love to their Heathen-learning, to which as one obſerves being tranſplanted into a Chriſtian ſoils, ſoon proved productive of pernicious weeds, which over-ran the face of the Church, hence it was ſo deformed as the Reformation found it.

Among other pernicious Weeds ariſing from this Root, the Doctrine of the power of Devils and Witchcraft as it is now, and long has been underſtood, is not the leaſt; the Fables of Homer, Virgil, Horace *and* Ovid, &c. *being for the Elegancy of their Language retained then (and ſo are to this day) in the ſchools; have not only introduced, but eſtabliſhed ſuch Doctrines to the poiſoning the Chriſtian World.*[11]. *A certain Author expreſſes it thus* [*that as the Chriſtian Schools at firſt brought Men from Heatheniſm to the Goſpel, ſo theſe Schools carry Men from the Goſpel to Heatheniſm, as to their great perfection*] *and Mr.* I. M. *in his* Remarkable Providences, *gives an account that (as he calls it) an old Counſel*

[11] Although the Stories and Fables of former Ages may, and doubtleſs did, at the Period under Conſideration, have a bad Influence upon the Minds of Scholars, they ought to have none in theſe Times. This, however, will depend on the Intelligence of Teachers.

did Anathematize all thoſe that believed ſuch power of the Devils, accounting it a Damnable Doctrine.[12] *But as other Evils did afterwards increaſe in the Church (partly by ſuch Education) ſo this inſenſibly grew up with them, tho not to that degree, as that any Counſel I have ever heard or Read of, has to this day taken off thoſe* Anathema's; *yet after this the Church ſo far declined, that Witchcraft became a Principal, Eccleſiaſtical Engine (as alſo that of Hereſy was) to root up all that ſtood in their way; and beſides the ways of Tryal, that we have ſtill in practice, they invented ſome, which were peculiar to themſelves; which whenever they were minded to improve againſt any Orthodox believer, they could eaſily make Effectual: That Deluge of Blood, which that* Scarlet Whore *has to anſwer for, ſhed under this notion, how amazing is it.*

The firſt in England *that I have read of, of any note ſince the Reformation, that aſſerts this Doctrine, is the famous Mr.* Perkins, *he (as alſo Mr.* Gaul, *and Mr.* Bernard, &c.) *ſeems all of them to have undertaken one Taſk. They taking notice of the Multiplicity of irregular ways to try them by, invented by Heathen and Papiſts, made it their buſineſs and main work herein to oppoſe ſuch as they ſaw to be pernicious. And if they did not look more narrowly into it, but followed the firſt,* viz. *Mr.* Perkins *whoſe Education (as theirs alſo) had foreſtall'd him into ſuch belief, whom they readily followed, it cannot be wondered at: And that they were men liable to Err, and ſo not to be truſted to as perfect guides, will manifeſtly appear to him that ſhall ſee their ſeveral receits laid down to detect them by their Preſumptive and Poſitive ones. And conſider how few*

[12] It is only neceſſary to obſerve that the Title of Dr. I. Mather's Work is *An Eſſay for the Recording of Illuſtrious Providences,* &c., which was printed in a 12mo. 1684. This Work was elegantly reprinted in a Crown 12mo or a 16mo. by John Ruſſell Smith, London, 1856. This, I think, is the firſt Time the Work was ever reprinted. It ſhows the Author not leſs ſuperſtitious than his very credulous Son.

of either have any foundation in Scripture or Reaſon; and how vaſtly they differ from each other in both, each having his Art by himſelf, which Forty or an Hundred more may as well imitate, and give theirs, ad infinitum, *being without all manner of proof.* [6] *But tho this be their main deſign to take off People from thoſe Evil and bloody ways of trial which they ſpeak ſo much againſt. Yet this does not hinder to this day, but the ſame evil ways or as bad are ſtill uſed to detect them by, and that even among Proteſtants; and is ſo far juſtified, that a Reverend Perſon has ſaid lately here, how elſe ſhall we detect Witches?*[13] *And another being urged to prove by Scripture ſuch a ſort of Witch as has power to ſend Devils to kill men, replied that he did as firmly believe it as any article of his Faith. And that he (the Inquirer) did not go to the Scripture; to learn the Myſteries of his trade or Art. What can be ſaid more to Eſtabliſh there Heatheniſh notions and to villifie the Scriptures, our only Rule; and that after we have ſeen ſuch dire effects thereof, as has threatned the utter Extirpation of this whole Country.*

And as to moſt of the Actors in theſe Tragedies, tho they are ſo far from defending their Actions that they will readily own, that undue ſteps have been taken, &c. yet it ſeems they chooſe that the ſame ſhould be Acted over again, inforced by their Example, rather than that it ſhould Remain as a Warning to Poſterity, as herein they have miſt it. So far are they from giving Glory to God, and taking the due ſhame to themſelves.

And now to ſum up all in a few words, we have ſeen a Biggotted Zeal, ſtirring up a Blind, and moſt Bloody rage, not againſt Enemies, or Irreligious proffligate Perſons. But (in Judgment of Charity, and to view) againſt as Vertuous and Religious as any they

[13] It would perhaps be fruitleſs to attempt a Conjecture as to who were the Perſons referred to, the Majority of the Community being of the ſame Faith.

have left behind them in this Country, which have ſuffered as Evil doers (with the utmoſt extent of rigour, not that ſo high a Character is due to all that Suffered) and this by the Teſtimony of Vile Varlets as not only were known before, but have been further apparent ſince by their Manifeſt Lives, whordoms, inceſt, &c. The accuſations of theſe, from their Spectral Sight, being the chief Evidence againſt thoſe that Suffered. In which Accuſations they were upheld by both Magiſtrates and Miniſters, ſo long as they Apprehended themſelves in no Danger.[14]

And then tho they could defend neither the Doctrine, nor the Practice, yet none of them have in ſuch a publick manner as the caſe Requires, teſtified againſt either; tho at the ſame time they could not but be ſenſible what a Stain and laſting Infamy they have brought upon the whole Country, to the indangering the future welfair not only of this but of other places, induced by their Example; if not, to an intailing the Guilt of all the Righteous Blood that has been by the ſame means Shed, by Heathen or Papiſts, &c. upon themſelves, whoſe deeds they have ſo far juſtified, occaſioning the great Diſhonour and Blaſphemy of the Name of God, Scandalizing the Heathen, hardning of Enemies; and as a Natural effect thereof, to the great Increaſe of Atheiſm.

I ſhall conclude only with acquainting the Reader, that of theſe Collections, the firſt containing more Wonders of the Inviſible World, I received of a Gentleman, who had it of the Author, and communicated it to ~~uſe~~ me, *with his expreſs conſent, of which this is a true Copy.*[15] *As to the letters, they are for Subſtance the ſame I*

[14] It ſeems that for ſome Time it never occurred to the Rulers that *they* might be taken for Witches; or "cried out upon," as the Phraſe uſed to be.

[15] Who the Gentleman was that received the Paper from Dr. Mather does not appear. At the Time it was obtained, the Author (Dr. Mather) probably had no Apprehenſion that any Expoſition was to follow. The very vague Note in

ſent, tho with ſome ſmall Variation or Addition. Touching the two Letters from a Gentleman at his requeſt, I have forborn naming him. It is great Pity the matters of Faſt, and indeed the whole, had not been done by ſome abler hand better Accompliſhed and Advantages with both natural and acquired Judgments, but others not Appearing, I have inforc'd myſelf to do what is done, my other occaſions Will not admit any further Scrutiny therein.

R. C.

Boſton in New-England, Aug 11. 1697.

Proceedings Maſs. Hiſt. Society for 1858, p. 288, enlightens the Reader but little. It is ſaid in that Note — "He [Mr. Calef] was furniſhed with Materials for his Work by Mr. Brattle, of Cambridge; and his Brother of Boſton; and other Gentlemen, who were oppoſed to the *Salem* Proceedings." This Extract is ſigned E. P.; but the Editor of the Article referred to makes no Conjecture as for whom the Initials ſtand. Perhaps they mean Ebenezer Pemberton, though that Gentleman was comparatively a young Man in 1697; old enough, however, to have been intereſted in theſe Affairs.

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[10] *SIR,*

I *NOW lay before you a very Entertaining Story,*[16] *a Story which relates yet more* Wonders of the Inviſible World, *a Story which tells the Remarkable Afflictions and Deliverance of one that had been Prodigiouſly handled by the* Evil Angels. *I was myſelf a daily* Eye Witneſs *to a large part of theſe Occurrences, and there may be produced Scores of Subſtantial* Witneſſes *to the moſt of them; yea, I know not of any one Paſſage of the Story but what may be ſufficiently atteſted. I do not Write it with a deſign of throwing it preſently into the Preſs, but only to preſerve the Memory of ſuch Memorable things, the forgetting whereof would neither be* pleaſing *to God, nor uſeful to Men; as alſo to give you, with ſome others of peculiar and obliging Friends, a ſight of ſome* Curioſities, *and I hope this Apology will ſerve to Excuſe me, if I mention, as perhaps I may, when I come to a tenth Paragraph in my Writing, ſome things which I would have omitted in a farther Publication.*

Cotton Mather.

16 This ſingular "Story" does not appear to have been publiſhed by its Author, nor have I any other Hiſtory of it than is found in theſe Pages. Nor do I find anything of a Family of the Name of Rule. Neither Farmer nor Savage have it in their genealogical Works. Yet there was a Family living for ſome Time at the North End of the Name of *Rule*. They may not have been long reſident. See Note 30.

[1] ANOTHER

BRAND

Pluckt out of the

BURNING,

Or, More Wonders of the Inviſible World.

Part I. Section I.

The Afflictions of MARGARET RULE.

WIthin theſe few years there died in the *Southern Parts* a Chriſtian *Indian*, who notwithſtanding ſome of his *Indian* Weakneſs, had ſomething of a better Character of vertue and Goodneſs, than many of our People can allow to moſt of their Country-men, that profeſs the *Chriſtian Religion.*[17] He had been a Zealous

[17] There were two noted Chriſtian Indians on Martha's Vineyard a little previous to the Time the Above was written; viz., *Hiacoomes* and *John Tokinoſh.* It is to one of theſe, probably, that the Writer refers. See *Book of the Indians*, B. ii, 118; or p. 182, Edition 1851. See alſo Appendix to *Elect. Serm.* of 1698, p. 90, *et seq.*

Preacher of the Goſpel to his Neighbourhood, and a ſort of *Overſeer*, or *Officer*, to whoſe Conduct was owing very much of what good order was maintained among thoſe Proſelited *Savages*. This Man returning home from the Funeral of his Son, was complemented by an *Engliſhman*, expreſſing *Sorrow for his Loſs;* now, tho' the *Indians* uſe upon the Death of Relations, to be the moſt Paſſionate and Outragious Creatures in the World, yet this Converted *Indian* Handſomly and Chearfully replid, *Truly I am ſorry, and I am not ſorry; I am ſorry that I have Buried a dear Son; but I am not ſorry that the will of God is done. I know that without the will of God my ſon could not have died, and I know that the will* [2] *of God is always juſt and good, and ſo I am ſatisfied.* Immediately upon this, even within a few hours, he fell himſelf Sick of a Diſeaſe that quickly kill'd him; in the time of which Diſeaſe he called his Folks about him, earneſtly perſwading them to be Sincere in their *Praying unto God*, and beware of the *Drunkenneſs*, the *Idleneſs*, the *Lying*, whereby ſo many of that Nation diſgrac'd their Profeſſion of Chriſtianity; adding, that he was aſhamed, when he thought how little Service he had hitherto done for God; and that if God would prolong his Life he would Labour to do better Service, but that he was fully ſure he was now going to the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, who had bought him with his own Precious *Blood;* and for his part, he long'd to Die that he might be with his

Glorious Lord; and in the mid'ſt of ſuch paſſages he gave up the Ghoſt, but in ſuch repute, that the *Engliſh* People of good Faſhion did not think much of Travelling a great way to his *Interment*. Leſt my Reader do now wonder why I have related this piece of a Story, I will now haſten to abate that Wonder, by telling that whereto this was intended, but for an *Introduction:* know then, that this remarkable *Indian* being a little before he Died at work in the Wood making of Tarr, there appeared unto him a *Black Man*, of a Terrible aſpect, and more than humane Dimenſions, threatning bittterly to kill him if he would not promiſe to leave off *Preaching* as he did to his Countrey-Men, and promiſe particularly, *that if he preached any more, he would ſay nothing of Jeſus Chriſt unto them?* The *Indian* amaz'd, yet had the courage to anſwer, *I will in ſpite of you go on to preach* Chriſt *more than ever I did, and the God whom I ſerve will keep me that you ſhall never hurt me.* Hereupon the Apparition abating ſomewhat of his fierceneſs, offered to the *Indian* a *Book* of a conſiderable thickneſs and a *Pen and Ink*, and ſaid, that if he would now ſet his hand unto that *Book*, he would require nothing further of him; but the Man refuſed the motion with indignation, and fell down upon his knees into a Fervent and Pious Prayer unto God, for help againſt the *Tempter*, whereupon the *Demon* Vaniſh't.

This is a Story which I would never have tendered unto my Reader, if I had not Receiv'd it

from an honeſt and uſeful *Engliſh Man*,[18] who is at this time a Preacher of the Goſpel to the *Indians*; nor would the probable Truth of it have encouraged me to have tendered it, if this alſo had not been a fit introduction unto yet a further Narrative.

Sect. 2. 'Twas not much above a year or two, after this Accident (of which no manner of Noiſe has been made) that there was a Prodigious deſcent of *Devils* upon divers places near the Centre of this Province; wherein ſome ſcores of *Miſerable People* were Troubled by horrible appearances of a *Black-Man*, accompanied with *Spectres*, wearing theſe and thoſe Humane Shapes, who offer'd them a *Book* to be by them ſign'd, in token of their being Liſted for the Service of the *Devil*, and upon their [3] denying to do it, they were *dragoon'd* with a thouſand Preternatural Torments, which gave no little terror to the beholders of theſe unhappy *Energuments*. There was one in the *North* part of *Boſton* ſeized by the *Evil Angels* many Months after the General Storm of the late *Inchantments* was over, and when the Countrey had long lain pretty quiet, both as to Moleſtations and Accuſations from the INVISIBLE WORLD, her Name was *Margaret Rule*, a Young Woman, She was born of ſober and honeſt Parents, yet Living, but what her own Character was before her Viſitation, I can ſpeak with the

[18] Perhaps Capt. Thomas Tupper. See *Noyes's Election Sermon*, 1698, p. 95. There were alſo *Eldad* and Samuel T.—Sewall's *MSS.*

leſs confidence of exactneſs, becauſe I obſerve that wherever the *Devils* have been let looſe to worry any Poor Creature amongſt us, a great part of the Neighbourhood preſently ſet themſelves to inquire and relate all the little Vanities of their Childhood, with ſuch unequal exaggerations, as to make them appear greater Sinners than any whom the Pilate of *Hell* has not yet Preyed upon: But it is affirm'd, that for about half a year before her Viſitation, ſhe was obſervably improved in the hopeful ſymptoms of a new Creature; She was become ſeriouſly concern'd for the everlaſting *Salvation* of her Soul, and careful to avoid the ſnares of *Evil Company*. This Young Woman had never ſeen the affliction of *Mercy Short*,[19] whereof a Narrative has been already given, and yet about half a year after the glorious and ſignal deliverance of that poor Damſel, this *Margaret* fell into an affliction, marvellous, reſembling hers in almoſt all the circumſtances of it, indeed the Afflictions were ſo much alike, that the relation I have given of the one, would almoſt ſerve as the full Hiſtory of the other, this was to that, *little more than the ſecond part to the ſame Tune;* indeed *Margarets* caſe was in ſeveral points leſs remarkable than *Mercies*, and in ſome other things the Entertainment did a little vary.

Sect. 3. 'twas upon the *Lords Day* the 10th of *September*, in the Year 1693. that *Margaret Rule*,

[19] Nothing is learned of this Perſon beyond what is to be found in this Work. There were Perſons early at Newbury of the ſame Name.

after ſome hours of previous diſturbance in the Publick Aſſembly, fell into odd *Fits*, which cauſed her Friends to carry her home, where her *Fits* in a few hours grew into a Figure that ſatisfied the Spectators of their being preternatural; ſome of the Neighbours were forward enough to ſuſpect the riſe of this Miſchief in an Houſe hard-by, where lived a Miſerable Woman, who had been formerly Impriſoned on the ſuſpicion of *Witchcraft*, and who had frequently Cured very painfull Hurts by muttering over them certain *Charms*, which I ſhall not indanger the Poyſoning of my Reader by repeating. This Woman had the Evening before *Margaret* fell into her Calamities, very bitterly treated her, and threatn'd her; but the hazard of hurting a poor Woman that might be innocent, notwithſtanding *Surmizes* that might have been more ſtrongly grounded than thoſe, cauſ'd the pious People in the Vicinity to try rather whether inceſſant *Supplication* to God [4] *alone*, might not procure a quicker and ſafer Eaſe to the *Afflicted*, than haſty Proſecution of any ſuppoſ'd Criminal, and accordingly that *unexceptionable courſe* was all that was ever followed; yea, which I look'd on as a token for good, the Afflicted Family was as averſe as any of us all to entertain thoughts of any other courſe.

Sect. 4. The Young Woman was aſſaulted by *Eight* cruel *ſpectres*, whereof ſhe imagin'd that ſhe knew *three* or *four*, but the reſt came ſtill

with their *Faces cover'd*, ſo that ſhe could never have a diſtinguiſhing view of the countenance of thoſe whom ſhe thought ſhe knew; ſhe was very careful of my reitterated charges *to forbear blazing the names*, leſt any good Perſon ſhould come to ſuffer any blaſt of Reputation thro' the cunning Malice of the great Accuſer; nevertheleſs having ſince privately named *them* to myſelf, I will venture to ſay *this* of them, that they are a ſort of *Wretches*, who for theſe many years have gone under as Violent *Preſumptions* of *Witchcraft*, as perhaps any creatures yet living upon earth; altho' I am farr from thinking that the Viſions of this Young Woman were Evidence enough to prove them ſo. Theſe curſed *Spectres* now brought unto her a *Book* about a *Cubet* long, a *Book Red* and *thick*, but not very broad, and they demanded of her that ſhe would ſet *her Hand* to that *Book*, or touch it at leaſt with her *Hand*, as a Sign of her becoming a Servant of the *Devil*, upon her peremptory refuſal *to do* what they aſked, they did not after renew the profers of the *Book* unto her, but inſtead thereof, they fell to Tormenting of her in a manner too Helliſh to be ſufficiently deſcribed, in thoſe Torments confining her to her *Bed*, for juſt *Six weeks* together.

Sect. 5. Sometimes, but not always together with the *Spectres*, there looke't in upon the Young Woman (according to her account) *a ſhort and a Black Man*, whom they call'd their Maſter—a Wight exactly of the ſame Dimenſions and

Complexion and voice, with the *Divel* that has exhibited himſelf unto other infeſted People, not only in other parts of this Country but alſo in other Countrys, even of the *European World*, as the relation of the Enchantments there inform us, they all profeſt themſelves Vaſſals of this *Devil*, and in obedience unto him they addreſs themſelves unto various ways of Torturing her; accordingly ſhe was cruelly *pinch'd with Inviſible hands*, very often in a Day, and the black and blew marks of the pinches became immediately viſible unto the ſtanders by. Beſides this, when her attendants had left her without ſo much as one pin about her, that ſo they might prevent ſome fear'd inconveniencies; yet ſhe would ever now and then be miſerably hurt with Pins which were found ſtuck into her Neck, Back and Arms, however the Wounds made by the Pins would in a few minutes ordinarily be cured; ſhe would alſo be ſtrangely diſtorted in her Joynts, and thrown into ſuch exorbitant *Convulſions* as [5] were aſtoniſhing unto the Spectators in General; They that could behold the doleful condition of the poor Family without ſenſible compaſſions, might have Intrals indeed, but I am ſure they could have no true *Bowels* in them.

Sect. 6. It were a moſt Unchriſtian and uncivil, yea a moſt unreaſonable thing to imagine that the Fitt's of the Young Woman were but meer *Impoſtures:* And I believe ſcarce any, but People of a particular *Dirtineſs*, will harbour ſuch an

Uncharitable Cenſure,[20] however, becauſe I know not how far the *Devil* may drive the Imagination of poor Creatures when he has poſſeſſion of them, that at another time when they are *themſelves* would ſcorn to *Diſſemble* any thing. I ſhall now confine my Narrative unto paſſages, wherein there could be no room left for any Diſſimulation. Of theſe the firſt that I'll mention ſhall be this; From the time that *Margaret Rule* firſt found herſelf to be formally beſieged by the *Spectres* untill the Ninth Day following, namely from the Tenth of *September* to the Eighteenth, ſhe kept an entire Faſt, and yet ſhe was unto all appearance as Freſh, as Lively, as Hearty, at the Nine Days End, as before they began; in all this time, tho' ſhe had a very eager *Hunger* upon her Stomach, yet if any refreſhment were brought unto her, her Teeth would be ſet, and ſhe would be thrown into many Miſeries, Indeed *once or twice or ſo* in all this time, her Tormentors permitted her to ſwallow a Mouthful of ſomewhat that might increaſe her Miſeries, whereof a Spoonful of *Rum* was the moſt conſiderable; but otherwiſe, as I ſaid, her *Faſt* unto the *Ninth day* was very extream and rigid: However, afterwards there ſcarce paſſed a day wherein ſhe had not liberty to take ſomething or other for her *Suſtentation*, And I muſt add this further, that this

[20] If the learned Author were living at this Day he would doubtleſs gladly blot out many Pages of his own Matter, as being a more *dirty* Work than any he then complained of.

buſineſs of her *Faſt* was carried ſo, that it was impoſſible to be diſſembled without a *Combination* of Multitudes of People unacquainted with one another to ſupport the *Juggle*, but he that can imagine ſuch a thing of a Neighbourhood, ſo fill'd with Vertuous People is a *baſe man*, I cannot call him any other.

Sect. 7. But if the Sufferings of this Young Woman were not *Impoſture*, yet might they not be pure Diſtemper? I will not here inquire of our *Saducees* what ſort of Diſtemper 'tis ſhall ſtick the Body full of *Pins*, without any Hand that could be ſeen to ſtick them; or whether all the *Pin-makers* in the World would be willing to be Evaporated into certain ill habits of Body producing a *Diſtemper*, but of the *Diſtemper* my Reader ſhall be Judge when I have told him ſomething further of thoſe unuſual Sufferings. I do believe that the *Evil Angels* do often take Advantage from *Natural Diſtempers* in the Children of Men to annoy them with ſuch further Miſchiefs as we call *preternatural*. The Malignant *Vapours* and *Humours* of our Diſeaſed Bodies may be uſed by *Devils* thereinto inſinu[6]ating as engine of the Execution of their Malice upon thoſe Bodies; and perhaps for this reaſon one Sex may ſuffer more Troubles of ſome kinds from the *Inviſible World* than the *other*, as well as for *that reaſon* for which the Old *Serpent* made where he did his *firſt Adddreſs*. But I Pray what will you ſay to this, *Margaret Rule* would

ſometimes have her Jaws forcibly pulled open, whereupon ſomething *Inviſible* would be poured down her throat; we all ſaw her ſwallow, and yet we ſaw her try all ſhe could by Spitting, Coughing and Shriking, that ſhe might not ſwalow, but one time the ſtanders by plainly ſaw ſomething of that odd *Liquor* itſelf on the outſide of her *Neck;* She cried out of it as of *Scalding Brimſtone* poured into her, and the whole Houſe would Immediately ſcent ſo hot of *Brimſtone* that we were ſcarce able to endure it, whereof there are ſcores of Witneſſes; but the Young Woman herſelf would be ſo monſtrouſly *Inflam'd* that it would have broke a Heart of Stone to have ſeen her Agonies, *this* was a thing that ſeveral times happen'd and ſeveral times when her Mouth was thus pull'd open, the ſtanders by clapping their Hands cloſe thereupon the diſtreſſes that otherwiſe followed would be diverted. Moreover there was a *whitiſh powder* to us *Inviſible* ſomtimes caſt upon the *Eyes* of this Young Woman, whereby her *Eyes* would be extreamly incommoded, but one time ſome of this *Powder* was fallen actually *Viſible* upon her Cheek, from whence the People in the Room wiped it with their Handkerchiefs, and ſomtimes the Young Woman would alſo be ſo bitterly ſcorched with the unſeen Sulphur thrown upon her, that very ſenſible *Bliſters* would be raiſed upon her Skin, whereto her Friends found it neceſſary to apply the *Oyl's* proper for common *Burning*, but the moſt of theſe Hurts

would be cured in two or three days at fartheſt: I think I may *without Vanity* pretend to have read not a few of the beſt Syſtem's of *Phyſick*[21] that have been yet ſeen in theſe *American* Regions, but I muſt confeſs that I have never yet learned the Name of the Natural Diſtemper, whereto theſe odd ſymptoms do belong: However I might ſuggeſt perhaps many a *Natural Medicine*, which would be of ſingular uſe againſt many of them.

Sect. 8. But there fell out ſome *other matters* far beyond the reach of *Natural Diſtemper:* This *Margaret Rule* once in the middle of the Night Lamented ſadly that the *Spectres* threat'ned the Drowning of a Young Man in the Neighbourhood, whom ſhe named unto the Company: well it was afterwards found that at that very time this Young Man, having been preſt on Board *a Man of War* then in the Harbour, was out of ſome diſſatisfaction attempting to ſwim aſhoar, and he had been *Drowned* in the attempt, if a Boat had not ſeaſonably taken him up; it was by computation a minute or two after the Young Womans diſcourſe of the *Drowning*, that the Young Man took the Water; At another time ſhe told us that [7] the *Spectres* bragg'd and laughed in her hearing about an exploit they had lately done, by ſtealing from a Gentleman his *Will* ſoon after he had written it; and within a few hours after ſhe

[21] It would be curious, if not admirable, at this Day could we know what medical Books the Doctor did poſſeſs at that Time. Doubtleſs Galen and Paracelſus were conſpicuous on his Shelves.

had ſpoken this there came to me a Gentleman with a private complaint, that having written his *Will*, it was unaccountably gone out of the way, *how* or *where* he could not Imagine; and beſides all this, there were wonderful *Noiſes* every now and then made about the Room, which our People could Aſcribe to no other Authors but the *Spectres*, yea, the Watchers affirm that they heard thoſe fiends clapping of their hands together with an *Audibleneſs*, wherein they could not be Impoſed upon: And once her Tormentors pull'd her up to the *Cieling* of the Chamber, and held her there before a very Numerous Company of *Spectators*, who found it as much as they could *all do* to pull her down again.[22] There was alſo another very ſurpriſing circumſtance about her, agreeable to what we have not only *read* in ſeveral Hiſtories concerning the *Imps* that have been Imployed in *Witchcraft;* but alſo known in ſome of our own afflicted: *We once thought we perceived ſomething ſtir upon her pillow at a little diſtance from her, whereupon one preſent laying his hand there, he to his horror* apprehended that *he felt*, tho' none could ſee it, *a living Creature*, not *altogether unlike a Rat, which nimbly eſcap'd from him:* and there were diverſe other Perſons who were thrown into a great conſternation by feeling, as they Judg'd, at other times the ſame *Inviſible Animal.*

[22] Mr. Calef has not commented ſo ſeverely on this Part of the Story as it merited, and as he might have done with propriety.

Sect. 9. As it has been with a Thouſand other *Inchanted* People, ſo it was with *Margaret Rule* in this particular, that there were ſeveral words which her *Tormentors* would not let her hear, eſpecially the words Pray or Prayer, and yet ſhe could ſo hear the letters of thoſe words diſtinctly mentioned as to know what they ment. The ſtanders by were forced ſometimes thus in diſcourſe to ſpell a word to her, but becauſe there were ſome ſo ridiculous as to count it a ſort of *Spell* or a *Charm* for any thus to accommodate themſelves to the capacity of the Sufferer, little of this kind was done. But that which was more ſingular in this matter, was that ſhe could not uſe theſe *words* in thoſe penetrating diſcourſes, wherewith ſhe would ſometimes addreſs the *Spectres* that were about her. She would ſometimes for a long while together apply herſelf to the *Spectres*, whom ſhe ſuppoſed the *Witches*, with ſuch *Exortations to Repentance* as would have melted an Heart of *Adamant* to have heard them; her ſtrains of Expreſſion and Argument were truly Extraordinary; A perſon perhaps of the beſt Education and Experience and of *Attainments* much beyond hers could not have exceeded them: nevertheleſs when ſhe came to theſe Words *God*, *Lord*, *Chriſt*, *Good*, *Repent*, and ſome other ſuch, her Mouth could not utter them, whereupon ſhe would ſometimes in an Angry *Parentheſis* complain of their Wickedneſs in ſtopping that *Word*, but ſhe would then go [8] on with ſome other

Terms that would ſerve to tell what ſhe ment. And I believe that if the moſt ſuſpicious Perſon in the world had beheld all the Circumſtances of this matter, he would have ſaid it could not have been diſſembled.

Sect. 10. Not only in the *Swediſh*, but alſo in the *Salem* Witchcraft the Inchanted People have talked much of a *White Spirit* from whence they received marvellous Aſſiſtances in their Miſeries; what lately befel *Mercy Short*[23] from the Communications of ſuch a *Spirit*, hath been the juſt Wonder of us all, but by ſuch a *Spirit* was *Margaret Rule* now alſo viſited. She ſays that ſhe could never ſee his *Face;* but that ſhe had a frequent view of his bright, Shining and glorious Garments; he ſtood by her *Bed-ſide* continually heartning and comforting of her and counſelling her to maintain her Faith and hope in God, and never comply with the temptations of her Adverſaries; ſhe ſays he told her, that *God had permitted her afflictions to befall her for the everlaſting and unſpeakable good of her own ſoul, and for the good of many others, and for his own Immortal Glory, and that ſhe ſhould therefore be of good Chear, and be aſſured of a ſpeedy deliverance;* and the wonderful reſolution of mind wherewith ſhe encountered her Afflictions were but agreeable to ſuch expectations. Moreover a Miniſter having one Day with ſome Importunity Prayed for the de-

[23] Mr. Savage has found quite a Number of *Short* Families, but gives us no *Mercy* with them. See his *Genealogical Dictionary.*

liverance of this Young Woman, and pleaded that ſhe belong'd to his Flock and charge; he had ſo far a right unto her as that he was to do the part of a Miniſter of our Lord for the bringing of her home unto God; only now the *Devil* hindred him in *doing* that which he had a *right* thus to do, and whereas He had a *better Title* unto her to bring her home to *God* than the *Divel* could have unto her to carry her away from the *Lord*, *he* therefore humbly applied himſelf unto *God*, who alone could right this matter, with a ſuit that ſhe might be reſcued out of *Satans Hands;* Immediately upon this, tho' ſhe heard nothing of this tranſaction ſhe began to call that Miniſter her *Father*, and that was the Name whereby ſhe every day before all ſorts of People diſtinguiſhed him: the occaſion of it ſhe ſays was *this*, the *white Spirit* preſently upon this tranſaction did after this manner ſpeak to her, *Margaret, you now are to take notice that* (ſuch a Man) *is your Father, God has given you to him, do you from this time look upon him as your Father, obey him, regard him as your Father, follow his Counſels and you ſhall do well;* And tho' there was one paſſage more, which I do as little know what to make of as any of the reſt, I am now going to relate it; more than three times have I ſeen it fulfilled in the Deliverance of Inchanted and Poſſeſt Perſons, whom the Providence of God has caſt into my way, that their Deliverance could not be obtained before the *third Faſt* kept

for them, and the third day ſtill obtain'd the Deliverance, altho' I have thought of *beſeeching of the Lord thrice, when buffered by Sa*[9]*tan*, yet I muſt earneſtly Intreat all my Readers to beware of any ſuperſtitious conceits upon the Number *Three*, if our God will hear us upon once Praying and Faſting before him 'tis well, and if he will not vouchſafe his *Mercy* upon our *thrice* doing ſo, yet we muſt not be ſo diſcouraged as to throw by our Devotion but if the Soveraign *Grace* of our God will in any particular Inſtances count our Patience enough tryed when we have Solemnly waited upon him for any determinate Number of times, who ſhall ſay to him, what doeſt thou, and if there ſhall be any Number of Inſtances, wherein this Grace of our God has exactly holden the ſame courſe, it may have a room in our humble *Obſervations*, I hope, without any Superſtition; I ſay then that after *Margaret Rule* had been more than five weeks in her Miſeries, this *White Spirit* ſaid unto her, *Well this day ſuch a Man* (whom he named) *has kept a third day for your deliverance, now be of good cheer you ſhall ſpeedily be delivered.* I inquired whether what had been ſaid of that Man were true, and I gained exact and certain information that it was preciſely ſo, but I doubt leſt in relating this Paſſage that I have uſed more openneſs than a Friend ſhould be treated with, and for that cauſe I have concealed ſeveral of the moſt *memorable things* that have occurred not only in this but in ſome former

Hiſtories, altho indeed I am not ſo well ſatisfied about the true nature of this *white Spirit*, as to count that I can do a Friend much Honour by reporting what notice this *white Spirit* may have thus taken of him.

Sect. 11. On the laſt day of the Week her Tormentors as ſhe thought and ſaid, approaching towards her, would be forced ſtill to recoil and retire as unaccountably unable to meddle with her, and they would retire to the Fire ſide with their Poppets; but going to ſtick Pins into thoſe Poppets, they could not (according to their viſions) make the Pins to enter, ſhe inſulted over them with a very Proper deriſion, daring them now to do their worſt, whilſt ſhe had the ſatisfaction to ſee their *Black Maſter* ſtrike them and kick them, like an *Overſeer* of ſo many *Negro's*, to make them to do their work, and renew the marks of his vengeance on them, when they failed of doing of it.[24] At laſt being as it were tired with their ineffectual Attempts to mortifie her they furiouſly ſaid, *Well you ſhant be the laſt.* And after a pauſe they added, *Go, and the Devil go with you, we can do no more;* whereupon they flew out of the Room, and ſhe returning perfectly to herſelf moſt affectionately gave thanks to God for her deliverance; her Tormentors left her extream *weak and faint*, and overwhelmed with *Vapours*, which would not only cauſe her ſometimes to Swoon away, but

[24] This Relation is pretty nearly equal to anything told of the Swediſh Witches by Dr. Horneck. This Author will be further noticed.

alſo now and then for a little while diſcompoſe the reaſonableneſs of her Thoughts; Nevertheleſs her former troubles returned not, but we are now waiting to ſee the good effects of thoſe troubles upon the Souls of all concern'd, And now I ſuppoſe that ſome of our Learned *wit-*[10] *lings* of the *Coffee-Houſe*, for fear leſt theſe proofs of an *Inviſible-world* ſhould ſpoil ſome of their ſport, will endeavour to turn them all into ſport, for which *Buffoonary* their only pretence will be, *they cant underſtand how ſuch things as theſe could be done* whereas indeed he that is but Philoſopher enough to have read but one *Little Treatiſe*, Publiſhed in the Year 1656, by no other Man than the Chyrurgion of an *Army*, or but one Chap. of *Helmont*,[25] which I will not quote at this time too particularly, may give a far more intelligible account of theſe *Appearances* than moſt of theſe *Blades* can give *why* and how their *Tobacco* makes 'em Spit; or which way the flame of their Candle becomes illuminating, as for that *cavil, the world would be undone if the Devils could have ſuch power as they ſeem to have in ſeveral of our ſtories*,[26] it may be Anſwered that as to many things

[25] Jean-Baptiſte Van-Helmont, a Reſident of Bruſſels, born in 1577. He was ſo noted a Phyſician and Naturaliſt, that he was reputed a Magician, for which he was thrown into Priſon. He made his Eſcape and fled into Holland, where he died in 1644.

[26] The Writer nowhere informs us how much Power the Devil has. By ſome of his Aſſertions it ſeems that it is unlimited. Indeed he (Dr. Mather) has told us that this Continent in reality belonged to the Devil. If that was actually the Caſe, it certainly was an infringement on his Rights for Europeans to intrude themſelves here at all.

the *Lying Devils* have only known them to be done, and then pretended unto the doing of thoſe things, but the true and beſt Anſwer is, that by theſe things we only ſee what the *Devils* could have *powers* to do, if the great God ſhould give them thoſe powers, whereas now our Hiſtories affords a *Glorious Evidence for the being of a God*, the World would indeed be *undone*, and horribly *undone*, if theſe Devils, who now and then get liberty to play ſome very miſchievous pranks, were not under a daily reſtraint of ſome *Almighty Superior* from doing more of ſuch Miſchiefs. Wherefore inſtead of all Apiſh *flouts* and *jeers* at Hiſtories, which have ſuch undoubted confirmation, as that no Man that has breeding enough to regard the Common Laws of *Humane Society*, will offer to doubt of 'em, it becomes us rather to adore the goodneſs of God, who does not permit ſuch things every day to befall us *all*, as he ſometimes did permit to befall ſome few of our miſerable Neighbours.

Sect. 12. And what after all my unwearied Cares and Pains, to reſcue the *Miſerable* from the Lions and Bears of *Hell*, which had ſiezed them, and after all my Studies to diſappoint the Devils in their deſigns to confound my Neighbourhood, muſt I be driven to the neceſſity of an *Apology?* Truly the hard *repreſentations* wherewith *ſome Ill Men have reviled my conduct*, and the Countenance which other Men have given to theſe repreſentations, oblige me to give Mankind ſome account

of my Behaviour; No Chriſtian can, I ſay none but evil workers can criminate my viſiting ſuch of my poor flock as have at any time fallen under the terrible and ſenſible moleſtations of *Evil Angels;* let their Afflictions have been what they will, I could not have anſwered it unto my Glorious *Lord*, if I had withheld my juſt *Counſels* and *Comforts* from them; and if I have alſo with ſome exactneſs obſerv'd the methods of the *Inviſible World*, when they have thus become obſervable, I have been but a Servant of Mankind in doing ſo; yea no leſs a Perſon than the *Venerable Baxter*, has more than once or twice in the moſt Publick manner invited Mankind to thank [11] me for that *Service.* I have not been inſenſible of a greater danger attending me in this fulfilment of my Miniſtry, than if I had been to take Ten Thouſand ſteps over a Rocky Mountain fill'd with *Rattle-Snakes;* but I have conſider'd, he that is wiſe will obſerve things, and the *Surpriſing Explication* and confirmation of the *biggeſt part* of the *Bible*, which I *have ſeen* given in theſe things, has *abundantly paid me* for obſerving them. Now in my viſiting of the Miſerable, I was always of this opinion, that we were Ignorant of what *Powers* the *Devils* might have to do their miſchiefs in the ſhapes of ſome that had never been explicitly engaged in *Diabolical Confederacies*, and that therefore tho' many *Witchcrafts* had been fairly detected *on Enquiries* provoked and begun by *Spectral Exhibitions*, yet we

could not eaſily be too jealous of the *Snares* laid for us in the *devices of Satan;* the World knows how many *Pages* I have Compoſed and Publiſhed, and particular gentlement in the Government know how many *Letters* I have written to prevent the exceſſive Credit of *Spectral Accuſations*, wherefore I have ſtill charged the *Afflicted* that they ſhould *Cry* out of no body for Afflicting of 'em. But that if this might be any Advantage they might *privately* tell their minds to ſome one Perſon of *diſcretion* enough to make no *ill uſe* of their communications, accordingly there has been this effect of it, that the Name of *No one* good Perſon in the World ever came under any blemiſh by means of any *Afflicted*, Perſon that fell under *my* particular cognizance, yea no one Man, Woman or Child ever came into any troube for the ſake of any that were *Afflicted* after I *had once begun* to look after 'em; how often have I had this thrown into my diſh, that many years ago I had an opportunity to have brought forth ſuch People as have in the late ſtorm of *Witchcraft* been complain'd of, but that I ſmother'd all, and after that ſtorm was raiſ'd at *Salem*, I did myſelf offer to provide Meat, Drink and Lodging for no leſs than Six of the Afflicted, that ſo an Experiment might be made, whether *Prayer* with *Faſting* upon the removal of the diſtreſſed might not put a Period to the trouble then riſing, without giving the *Civil Authority* the trouble of proſecuting thoſe things which nothing but a Conſcientious regard unto

the cries of Miſerable Families, could have overcome the Reluctancies of the Honourable Judges to meddle with;[27] In ſhort I do humbly but freely affirm it, there is not that Man living in this World who has been more deſirous than the poor Man I *to ſhelter* my Neighbours from the Inconveniences of *Spectral Outcries*, yea I am very jealous I have done ſo much *that way as to Sin* in what I have done, ſuch have been the Cowardize and Fearfulneſs whereunto my regard unto the diſſatisfactions of other People has precipitated me. I know a Man in the World, who has thought he has been able to Convict ſome ſuch *Witches* as ought to Dye, but his reſpect unto the Publick *Peace* has cauſed him rather to try whether *He* [12] *could not renew them by repentance:* and as I have been Studious to defeat the *Devils* of their expectations to ſet people together by the Ears, thus, I have alſo checked and quell'd thoſe forbidden curioſities, which would have given the *Devil* an invitation to have tarried amongſt us, when I have ſeen wonderful *Snares* laid for *Curious* People, by the ſecret and future things diſcovered from the *Mouths of Damſels poſſeſt with a Spirit of divination;* Indeed I can

[27] This will be found remarked upon hereafter. The Author makes a large Handle of Mr. Baxter's Commendations of his Story of the Goodwin Children; which Story he afterwards printed in the *Magnalia*, Book vi, 71, &c.; and adds: "When it was reprinted at London, the famous Mr. Baxter prefixed a Preface unto it, wherein he ſays, '*This great Inſtance comes with ſuch convincing Evidence, that he muſt be a very obdurate* Sadducee, *that will not believe it.*'"—*Ibid.*, 75.

recollect but one thing wherein there could be given ſo much as a Shadow of Reaſon for *Exceptions*, and that is my allowing of ſo many to come and ſee thoſe that were *Afflicted*,[28] now for that I have this to ſay, that I have almoſt *a Thouſand times* intreated the Friends of the Miſerable, that they would not permit the Intruſion of any Company, but ſuch as *by Prayers* or other ways might be helpful to them; Nevertheleſs I have not abſolutely forbid all Company from coming to your Haunted Chambers, partly becauſe the Calamities of the Families were ſuch as required the Aſſiſtance of *many friends;* partly becauſe I have been willing that there ſhould be *diſintereſted Witneſſes* of all ſorts, to confute the Calumnies of ſuch as would ſay *all was but Impoſture;* and partly becauſe I ſaw God had Sanctified the Spectacle of the Miſeries on the Afflicted unto the Souls of many that were Spectators, and it is a very Glorious thing that I have now to mention — The Devils have with moſt horrendous operations broke in upon our Neighbourhood, and God has at ſuch a rate over-ruled all the Fury and Malice of thoſe Devils, that all the Afflicted have not only been *Delivered*, but I hope alſo ſavingly brought home unto God, and the Reputation of *no one* good Perſon in the World, has been damaged, but

[28] It was beſides hinted that there were Times when the Numbers admitted to the Afflicted were not above the *ſingular* Number. But this was doubtleſs a miſchievous Attempt of the *Sadducees* to implicate ſome one who might be rather zealous to detect *Witchcraft* when alone with the Afflicted. The Doctor was very indignant at this, as will appear.

inſtead thereof the Souls of many, eſpecially of the riſing Generation, have been thereby awaken'd unto ſome acquaintance with *Religion*, our young People who belonged unto the *Praying Meetings* of both Sexes, a part would ordinarily ſpend whole *Nights* by whole Weeks together in *Prayers* and Pſalms upon theſe occaſions, in which Devotions the Devils could get nothing but like *Fools a Scourge for their own Backs*, and ſome ſcores of other young People who were ſtrangers to real Piety, were now ſtruck with the lively demonſtrations of *Hell* evidently ſet forth before their Eyes, when they ſaw Perſons cruelly Frighted, wounded and Starved by Devils and Scalded with burning *Brimſtone*, and yet ſo preſerved in this tortured eſtate as that at the end of one Months wretchedneſs they were as able ſtill to undergo another, ſo that of theſe alſo it might now be ſaid, Behold they Pray in the whole— the Devil got juſt nothing; but God got praiſes, Chriſt got Subjects, the Holy Spirit got *Temples*, the Church got *Addition*, and the Souls of Men got everlaſting *Benefits;* I am not ſo vain as to ſay that any *Wiſdome* or *Vertue* of mine did contribute unto this good order of things: But I am ſo juſt, as to ſay I did not hinder this Good.[13] When therefore there have been thoſe that pickt up little incoherent ſcraps and bits of my *Diſcourſes* in this ~~fruitful~~ faithful (See Errata) diſcharge of my Miniſtry, and ſo traverſted 'em in their abuſive *Pamphlets*, as to perſwade the Town that I was their *common*

Enemy in thoſe very points, wherein, if in any one thing whatſoever I have ſenſibly approved myſelf as true a Servant unto 'em as poſſibly I could, tho my Life and Soul had been at Stake for it. Yea to do like *Satan* himſelf, by ſly, baſe, unpretending *Inſinuations*, as if I wore not the Modeſty and Gravity which became a Miniſter of the Goſpel, I could not but think myſelf unkindly dealt withal, and the neglects of *others* to do me *juſtice* in this affair has cauſed me to conclude this Narrative with complaints in *another hearing* of ſuch Monſtrous Injuries.[29]

PART II.

A Letter to Mr. C. M.

Boſton, Jan. 11*th*, 1693.

Mr. *Cotton Mather*,

Reverend Sir, I finding it needful on many accounts, I here preſent you with the Copy of that Paper, which has been ſo much Miſrepreſented, to the End that what ſhall be found defective or not fairly Repreſented, if any ſuch ſhall appear, they may be ſet right, which Runs thus.

[29] It would have been highly gratifying had the Author informed his Readers what he meant by "the neglect of others." The "another hearing" will be found explained by and by.

September *the* 13*th*, 1693.

IN the Evening when the Sun was withdrawn, giving place to Darkneſs to ſucceed, I with ſome others were drawn by curioſity to ſee Margaret Rule, *and ſo much the rather becauſe it was reported* Mr. M—— *would be there that Night: Being come to her Fathers Houſe*[30] *into the Chamber wherein ſhe was in Bed, found her of a healthy countenance of about ſeventeen Years Old, lying very ſtill, and ſpeaking very little, what ſhe did ſay ſeem'd as if ſhe were Light-headed. Then Mr.* M—*Father and Son*[31] *came up and others with them, in the whole were about* 30 *or* 40 *Perſons, they being ſat, the Father on a Stool, and the Son upon the Bedſide by her, the Son began to queſtion her,* Margaret Rule, *how do you do?* then a pauſe without any anſwer. Queſtion. *What do there a great many Witches ſit upon you? Anſwer.* Yes. Q. *Do you not know that there is a hard Maſter?* Then ſhe was in a Fit; *He laid his hand upon her Face and Noſe, but, as he ſaid, without perceiving Breath; then he bruſh'd her on the Face with his Glove, and rubb'd her Stomach (her breaſt not covered with the Bedcloaths) and bid others do ſo too, and ſaid* [14] *it eaſed her, then ſhe revived.* Q. *Don't you know there is a hard Maſter?* A. *Yes.* Reply; *Don't*

[30] The Family of Rule appear to have reſided at the North End of the Town. Where they came from, or what became of them does not appear. They were, perhaps, tranſient Sojourners here. Mr. Mather ſays Margaret's Parents were ſober and honeſt, and living at the Time in Boſton. See *ante*.

[31] Increaſe and Cotton Mather.

ſerve that hard Maſter, you know who. Q. *Do you believe? Then again ſhe was in a Fit, and he again rub'd her Breaſt,* &c. (*about this time* Margaret Perd[32] *an attendant aſſiſted him in rubbing of her. The Afflicted ſpake angerely to her ſaying don't you meddle with me, and haſtily put away her hand*) *he wrought his Fingers before her Eyes and aſked her if ſhe ſaw the Witches?* A. *No.* Q. *Do you believe?* A. *Yes.* Q. *Do you believe in you know who?* A. *Yes.* Q. *Would you have other people do ſo too, to believe in you know who?* A. *Yes.* Q. *Who is it that Afflicts you?* A. *I know not, there is a great many of them* (*about this time the Father queſtion'd if ſhe knew the Spectres? An attendant ſaid, if ſhe did ſhe would not tell; The Son proceeded.*) Q. *You have ſeen the Black-man, hant you?* A. *No.* Reply, *I hope you never ſhall.* Q. *You have had a Book offered you, hant you?* A. *No.* Q. *The bruſhing of you gives you eaſe, don't it?* A. *Yes. She turn'd herſelfe and a little Groan'd.* Q. *Now the Witches Scratch you and Pinch you, and Bite you, don't they?* A. *Yes, then he put his hand upon her Breaſt and Belly,* viz. *on the Cloaths over her, and felt a Living thing, as he ſaid, which moved the Father alſo to feel, and ſome others.* Q. *Don't you feel the Live thing in the Bed?* A. *No.* Reply, *that is only Fancie.* Q. *the great company of People increaſe your Torment, don't they?* A. *Yes. The People about were deſired to withdraw. One Woman ſaid, I am ſure I*

[32] A Name not met with beyond this Affair.

am no Witch, I will not go; ſo others, ſo none with-drew. Q. *Shall we go to Prayers, Then ſhe lay in a Fit as before. But this time to revive her, they waved a Hat and bruſhed her Head and Pillow therewith.* Q. *Shall we go to PRAY,* &c. *Spelling the Word.* A. *Yes. The Father went to Prayer for perhaps half an Hour,*[33] *chiefly againſt the Power of the Devil and Witchcraft, and that God would bring out the Afflicters: during Prayer-time, the Son ſtood by, and when they thought ſhe was in a Fit, rub'd her and bruſh'd her as before, and beckned to others to do the like, after Prayer he proceeded;* Q. *You did not hear when we were at Prayer, did you?* A. *Yes. You dont hear always, you dont hear ſometimes paſt a Word or two, do you?* A. *No. Then turning him about ſaid, this is juſt another* Mercy Short: Margaret Perd *reply'd, ſhe was not like her in her Fits.* Q. *What does ſhe eat or drink?* A. Not eat at all; but drink Rum. *Then he admoniſhed the young People to take warning,* &c. *Saying it was a ſad thing to be ſo Tormented by the Devil and his Inſtruments:* A *Young-man preſent in the habit of a Seaman, reply'd this is the Devil all over, Than the Miniſters withdrew. Soon after they were gone the Afflicted deſired the Women to be gone, ſaying, that the Company of the Men was not offenſive to her, and having hold of the hand of*

[33] The Doctor was greatly diſturbed at this Statement of the Length of the Prayer; averring that it was not above a quarter of an Hour.

a Young-man, ſaid to have been her Sweetheart formerly, who was withdrawing; ſhe pull'd him again into his Seat, ſaying he ſhould not go to Night.

[15] September *the* 19*th*, 1693.

THIS Night I renew'd my Viſit, and found her rather of a freſher Countenance than before, about eight Perſons preſent with her, ſhe was in a Fit Screeming and making a Noiſe: Three or four Perſons rub'd and bruſh'd her with their hands, they ſaid that the bruſhing did put them away, if they bruſh'd or rub'd in the right place; therefore they bruſhed and rubbed in ſeveral places, and ſaid that when they did it in the right place ſhe could fetch her Breath, and by that they knew. She being come to herſelf was ſoon in a merry talking Fit. A Young-man came in and aſk'd her how ſhe did? She anſwered very bad, but at preſent a little better; he ſoon told her he muſt be gone and bid her good Night, at which ſhe ſeem'd troubled, ſaying that ſhe liked his Company; and ſaid ſhe would not have him go till ſhe was well; adding, for I ſhall Die when you are gone. Then ſhe complained they did not put her on a clean Cap, but let her ly ſo like a Beaſt, ſaying ſhe ſhould loſe her Fellows. She ſaid ſhe wondered any People ſhould be ſo Wicked as to think ſhe was not Afflicted, but to think ſhe Diſſembled, A Young-woman anſwered Yes, if they were to ſee you in this merry Fit, they would ſay you Diſſembled indeed; She reply'd, Mr. M— *ſaid this was her laughing time, ſhe muſt laugh now: She ſaid*

Mr. M— *had been there this Evening, and ſhe enquired, how long he had been gon? She ſaid he ſtay'd alone with her in the room half an Hour, and ſaid that he told her there were ſome that came for Spies, and to report about Town that ſhe was not Afflicted. That during the ſaid time ſhe had no Fit, that he aſked her if ſhe knew how many times he had Prayed for her to day? And that ſhe anſwered that ſhe could not tell; and that he reply'd he had Prayed for her Nine times to Day; the Attendants ſaid that ſhe was ſometimes in a Fit that none could open her Joints,*[34] *and that there came an Old Iron-jaw'd Woman and try'd, but could not do it; they likewiſe ſaid, that her Head could not be moved from the Pillow; I try'd to move her head, and found no more difficulty than another Bodies (and ſo did others) but was not willing to offend by lifting it up, one being reproved for endeavouring it, they ſaying Angrily you will break her Neck. The Attendants ſaid Mr.* M— *would not go to Prayer with her when People were in the Room, as they did one Night that Night he felt the Live-Creature.* Margaret Perd *and another, ſaid they ſmelt brimſtone;*[35] *I and others ſaid we did not ſmell any; then they ſaid they did not know what it was: This* Margaret *ſaid, ſhe wiſh'd ſhe had been here when Mr.* M— *was here, another Attendant ſaid, if you*

[34] The general Inference would naturally be that the Doctor's Prayers were not very effective.

[35] His Satanic Majeſty was ſuppoſed to be very near, or the Scent of his Dominions would not have been perceptible. It may be that he did not make his Appearance, owing to the Preſence of ſome obdurate Unbelievers. See *Note* 3.

had been here you might not have been permitted in, for her own Mother was not ſuffered to be preſent.

Sir, after the foreſt Affliction and greateſt blemiſh to Religion that ever befel this Countrey, and after moſt Men began to Fear that ſome undue ſteps had been taken, and after His Excellency (with their Majeſtyes Approbation as is ſaid) had put a ſtop to Executions, and Men began [16] to hope there would never be a return of the like; finding theſe Accounts to contain in them ſomething extraordinary, I writ them down the ſame Nights in order to attain the certainty of them, and ſoon found them ſo confirmed that I have (beſides other Demonſtrations) the whole, under the Hands of two Perſons are ready to atteſt the Truth of it, but not ſatisfied herewith; I ſhewed them to ſome of your particular Friends, that ſo I might have the greater certainty: But was much ſurpriſed with the Meſſage you ſent me, that I ſhould be Arreſted for Slander, and at your calling me one of the worſt of Lyars, making it Pulpit-news with the Name of *Pernicious Libels*, &c. This occaſion'd my firſt Letter.

September *the* 29*th*, 1693.

Reverend SIR,

I *Having written from the Mouths of ſeveral Perſons, who affirm they were preſent with* Margaret Rule, *the* 13th *Inſtant, her Anſwers and Behaviour*, &c. *And having ſhewed it to ſeveral of my Friends, as alſo yours, and underſtanding you*

are offended at it; This is to acquaint you that if you and any one particular Friend, will pleaſe to meet me and ſome other Indifferent Perſon with me, at Mr. Wilkinſs, *or at* Ben Harriſs,[36] *you intimating the time, I ſhall be ready there to read it to you, as alſo a further Account of proceedings the* 19th *Inſtant, which may be needful to prevent Groundleſs prejudices, and let deſerved blame be caſt where it ought; From,*

Sir, yours in what I may, R. C.

The effects of which, Sir, (not to mention that long Letter only once read to me) was, you ſent me word you would meet me at Mr. *Wilkins's* but before that Anſwer, at yours and your Fathers complaint, I was brought before their Majeſties Juſtice, by Warrant, as for Scandalous *Libels* againſt yourſelf, and was bound over to Anſwer at Seſſions; I do not remember you then objected againſt the Truth of what I had wrote, but aſſerted it was wronged by omiſſions, which if it were ſo was paſt any Power of mine to remedy, having given a faithful account of all that came to my knowledge; And Sir, that you might not be without ſome Cognizance of the reaſons why I took ſo much pains in it, as alſo for my own Information, if it might have been, I wrote to you my ſecond Letter to this effect.

[36] Richard Wilkins and Benjamin Harris were Bookſellers and Publiſhers in Boſton at this Period. They are duly noticed in the *Hiſtory and Antiquities of Boſton*, out of Dunton's *Life and Errors*. Harris printed *The Wonders of the Inviſible World*, as will be ſeen on reference to the Title-page. See Thomas's *Hiſt. Printing*, ii, 412.

November *the* 24*th*, 1693.

Reverend SIR,

HAVING *expected ſome Weeks, your meeting me at Mr.* Wilkins *according to what you intimated to* ~~me~~ J. M— *and the time drawing near for our meeting elſewhere, I thought it not amiſs to give you a Summary of my thoughts in the great concern, which as you ſay has been agitated with ſo much* [17] *heat. That there are Witches is not the doubt, the Scriptures elſe were in vain, which aſſign their Puniſhment to be by death; But what this Witchcraft is, or wherein it does conſiſt, ſeems to be the whole difficulty: And as it may be eaſily demonſtrated, that all that bear that Name cannot be juſtly ſo accounted, ſo that ſome things and Actions not ſo eſteemed by the moſt, yet upon due examination will be found to merit no better Character.*

In your late Book you lay down a brief Synopſis of what has been written on that Subject, by a Triumvirate *of as Eminent Men as ever handled it*[37] *(as you are pleaſ'd to call them)* viz. *Mr.* Perkins, Gaule, *and* Bernard *conſiſting of about* 30 *Tokens to know them by, many of them diſtinct from, if not thwarting each other: Among all of which I can find but one deciſive,* Viz. *That of Mr.* Gaule, *Head* IV. *and runs thus; Among the moſt unhappy Circumſtances to convict a Witch, one is a maligning and oppugning the Word, Work, or Worſhip of God, and by any extraordinary Sign ſeeking to ſeduce any*

[37] See Vol. i, Page 37.

from it, ſee Deu. 13. 1, 2. Mat. 24. 24. Acts. 13. 8, 10. 2. Tim. 3. 8. *Do but mark well the places, and for this very property of thus oppoſing and perverting, they are all there concluded Arrant and abſolute Witches.*

This Head as here laid down and inſerted by you, either is a Truth or not, if not, why is it here inſerted from one of the Triumvirate *if it be a Truth. as the Scriptures quoted will abundantly teſtifie, whence is it that it is ſo little regarded, tho it be the only Head well proved by Scripture, or that the reſt of the* Triumvirate *ſhould ſo far forget their Work as not to mention it. It were to be unjuſt to the Memory of thoſe otherwiſe Wiſe Men, to ſuppoſe them to have any Iniſter deſign; But perhaps the force of a prevailing opinion, together with an Education thereto Suited, might overſhadow their Judgments, as being wont to be but too prevalent in many other caſes. But if the above be Truth, then the Scripture is full and plain, What is Witchcraft? And if ſo, what need of his next Head of Hanging of People without as full and clear Evidence as in other Caſes? Or what need of the reſt of the Receipts of the* Triumvirate? *what need of Praying that the Afflicted may be able to diſcover who 'tis that Afflicts them? or what need of Searching for Tet's for the Devil to Suck in his Old Age, or the Experiment of ſaying the Lord's Prayer,* &c. *Which a multitude more practiſed in ſome places Superſtitiouſly inclin'd. Other Actions have been practiſed for eaſing the Afflicted, leſs juſtifiable, if not ſtrongly*

ſavouring of Witchcraft itſelf, viz. *Fondly Imagining by the Hand, &c. to drive off Spectres, or to knock off Inviſible Chains, or by ſtriking in the Air to Wound either the Afflicted or others,* &c. *I write not this to accuſe any, but that all may beware believing, That the Devil's bounds are ſet, which he cannot paſs, That the Devils are ſo full of Malice, That it cannot be added to by Mankind, That where he hath Power he neither can nor will omit Executing it, That 'tis only the Almighty that ſets* [18] *bounds to his rage, and that only can Commiſſionate him to hurt or deſtroy any.*

Theſe laſt, Sir, are ſuch Foundations of Truth, in my eſteem, that I cannot but own it to be my duty to aſcert them, when call'd, tho' with the hazard of my All.[38] *And conſequently to detect ſuch as theſe, That a Witch can Commiſſionate Devils to Afflict Mortals, That he can at his or the Witches pleaſure Aſſume any Shape, That Hanging or* ~~*Drawing*~~ *of Witches can leſſen his Power of Afflicting, or reſtore thoſe that were at a diſtance Tormented, with many others depending on theſe; all tending, in my eſteem, highly to the Diſhonour of God, and the Indangering the well-being of a People, and do further add, that as the Scriptures are full that there is Witchcraft,* (ut ſup.) *ſo 'tis as plain that there are Poſſeſſions, and that the Bodies of the Poſſeſt have hence been not only Afflicted, but ſtrangely agitated, if not their*

Chaining (see Errata)

[38] The Author ſeemed to be fully aware of the Danger of aſſerting the plain Truth. It probably was a means of his ruin, as to any conſiderable Fortune. See *Introductory Memoir.*

tongues improved to foretell futurities, &c. and why not to accuſe the Innocent, as bewitching them; having pretence to Divination to gain credence. This being reaſonable to be expected, from him who is the Father of Lies, to the end he may thereby involve a Countrey in Blood, Mallice, and Evil, ſurmiſing which he greedily ſeeks after, and ſo finally lead them from their fear and dependance upon God to fear him, and a ſuppoſed Witch thereby attaining his end upon Mankind; and not only ſo, but Natural Diſtemper, as has been frequently obſerved by the Judicious, have ſo operated as to deceive, more than the Vulgar, as is teſtified by many Famous Phyſicians, and others. And as for that proof of Multitudes of Confeſſions, this Countrey may be by this time thought Competent Judges, what credence we ought to give them, having had ſuch numerous Inſtances, as alſo how obtain'd.

And now Sir, if herein be any thing in your eſteem valuable, let me intreat you, not to account it the worſe for coming from ſo mean a hand; which however you may have receiv'd Prejudices, &c. *Am ready to ſerve you to my Power; but if you Judge otherwiſe hereof, you may take your own Methods for my better Information. Who am, Sir, yours to command, in what I may,* *P. C.*[39]

In Anſwer to this laſt, Sir, you replyed to the Gentleman that preſented it, that you had nothing

[39] A miſprint. R. C. was intended. The Correction is made in the Salem Editions.

to Proſecute againſt me; and ſaid as to your Sentiments in your Books, you did not bind any to believe them, and then again renew'd your promiſe of meeting me, as before, tho' not yet performed. Accordingly, tho' I waited at Seſſions, there was none to object ought againſt me, upon which I was diſmiſſed. This gave me ſome reaſon to believe that you intended all ſhould have been forgotten; But inſtead of that, I find the Coals are freſh blown up, I being ſuppoſed to be repreſented, in a late Manuſcript, *More Wonders of the*, *&c.* as traverſing your Diſcourſe in your Faithful diſcharge of your Duty, *&c.* And ſuch as ſee not with the Authors Eyes, rendred *Saducees* and *Witlins*,[40] *&c.* and the Arguments that ſquare not with the Sentiments [19] therein contain'd, Buffoonary; rarely no doubt, agreeing with the Spirit of Chriſt, and his dealings with an unbelieving *Thomas*, yet whoſe infidelity was without compare leſs excuſable, but the Author having reſolved long ſince, to have no more than one ſingle Grain of Patience, with them that deny, *&c* the Wonder is the leſs. It muſt needs be that offences come, but wo to him by whom they come. To vindicate myſelf therefore from ſuch falſe Imputations, of *Satan-like* inſinuations, and miſrepreſenting your Actions, *&c.* and to vindicate yourſelf, Sir, as much as is in my power from thoſe ſuggeſtions, ſaid to be inſinuated, as if you wore

[40] Epithets applied by Mr. Mather to thoſe who diſſented from him. "Flaſhy and fleeting Witlings."—*Remarkables* of Dr. I. M., 164.

not the Modeſty, and Gravity, that becomes a Miniſter of the *Goſpel;* which it ſeems, ſome that never ſaw the ſaid Narratives, report them to contain; I ſay, Sir, for theſe reaſons, I here preſent you with the firſt Coppy that ever was taken, *&c.* And purpoſe for a Weeks time to be ready, if you ſhall intimate your pleaſure to wait upon you, either at the place formerly appointed, or any other that is indifferent to the End; that if there ſhall appear any defects in that Narrative, they may be amended.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a genuine account of my Sentiments and Actions in this Affair; and do requeſt and pray, that if I err, I may be ſhewed it from *Scripture*, or ſound *Reaſon*, and not by quotations out of *Virgil*, nor *Spaniſh Rhetorick*.[41] For I find the *Witlings* mentioned, are ſo far from anſwering your profound queſtions, that they cannot ſo much as pretend to ſhew a diſtinction between Witchcraft in the Common notion of it, and Poſſeſſion; Nor ſo much as to demonſtrate that ever the *Jews* or primitive *Chriſtians* did believe, that a Witch could ſend a Devil to Afflict her Neighbours; but to all theſe, Sir, (ye being the Salt of the Earth, *&c.*) I have reaſon to hope for a Satisfactory Anſwer to him, who is one that reverences your Perſon and Of-

41 Whittier had, no doubt, been reading Calef recently, when he wrote:

"To garniſh the Story, with hear a ſtreak
Of Latin, and there another of Greek:
And the Tales he heard and the Notes he took
Behold are they not in his Wonder-Book?"

fice; And am, Sir, yours to Command in what I may,

R. C.

Boſton, January the 15*th*, 169$\frac{3}{4}$.

Mr. R. C.

WHEREAS you intimate your deſires, that what's not fairly (I take it for granted you mean truly alſo,) repreſented in a Paper you lately ſent me, containing a pretended Narrative of a Viſit by my Father and ſelf to an Afflicted Young woman, whom we apprehended to be under a *Diabolical Poſſeſſion*, might be rectified: I have this to ſay, as I have often already ſaid, that do I ſcarcely find any one thing in the whole Paper, whether reſpecting my Father or ſelf, either fairly or truly repreſented. Nor can I think that any that know my Parents Circumſtances, but muſt think him deſerving a better Character by far, than this Narrative can be thought to give him. When the main deſign we managed in [20] Viſiting the poor Afflicted Creature, was to prevent the Accuſations of the Neighbourhood; can it be fairly repreſented that our deſign was to draw out ſuch Accuſations, which is the repreſentation of the Paper. We have Teſtimonies of the beſt Witneſſes and in Number not a few, That when we aſked *Rule* whether ſhe thought ſhe knew who Tormented her? the Queſtion was but an Introduction to the Solemn charges which we then largely gave, that ſhe ſhould rather Dye than tell the Names of any whom ſhe might Imagine

that ſhe knew. Your Informers have reported the Queſtion, and report nothing of what follows, as eſſential to the giving of that Queſtion: And can this be termed a piece of fairneſs? Fair it cannot be, that when Miniſters Faithfully and Carefully diſcharge their Duty to the Miſerable in their Flock, little bits, ſcraps and ſhreds of their Diſcourſes, ſhould be tackt together to make them contemtible, when there ſhall be no notice of all the Neceſſary, Seaſonable, and Profitable things that occurr'd, in thoſe Diſcourſes; And without which, the occaſion of the leſſer Paſſages cannot be underſtood; and yet I am furniſhed with abundant Evidences, ready to be Sworn, that will poſſitively prove this part of unfairneſs, by the above mention'd Narrative, to be done both to my Father and ſelf. Again, it ſeems not fair or reaſonable that I ſhould be expoſ'd, for which your ſelf (not to ſay ſome others) might have expoſ'd me for, if I had not done, *viz.* for diſcouraging ſo much Company from flocking about the Poſſeſt Maid, and yet, as I perſwade myſelf, you cannot but think it to be good advice, to keep much Company from ſuch haunted Chambers; beſides the unfairneſs doth more appear, in that I find nothing repeated of what I ſaid about the advantage, which the Devil takes from too much Obſervation and Curioſity.[42]

[42] With this View of the Devil, the Author was certainly, according to his own Account, more in the Way of becoming one of his deluded Followers than any other: "Tis a moſt commendable Cau-

In that ſeveral of the Queſtions in the Paper are ſo Worded, as to carry in them a preſuppoſal of the things inquired after, to ſay the beſt of it is very unfair: But this is not all, the Narrative contains a number of Miſtakes and Falſhoods; which were they wilful and deſign'd, might juſtly be termed groſs Lies. The repreſentations are far from true, when 'tis affirm'd my Father and ſelf being come into the Room, I began the Diſcourſe; I hope I underſtand breeding a little better than ſo: For proof of this, did occaſion ſerve, ſundry can depoſe the contrary.

'Tis no leſs untrue, that either my Father or ſelf put the Queſtion, how many Witches ſit upon you? We always cautiouſly avoided that expreſſion; It being contrary to our inward belief: All the ſtanders by will (I believe) ſwear they did not hear us uſe it (your Witneſſes excepted) and I tremble to think how hardy thoſe woful Creatures muſt be, to call the Almighty by an Oath, to ſo falſe a thing. As falſe a repreſentation 'tis, that I rub'd *Rule's* Stomach, her Breaſt not being covered. The Oath of the neareſt Spectators, giving a true account of that matter [21] will prove this to be little leſs than a groſs (if not a doubled) Lie; and to be ſomewhat plainer, it carries the Face of a Lie contrived on purpoſe (by them at leaſt, to whom you are be-

tiouſneſs," he tells us elſewhere, "to be very ſhy leſt the Devil get ſo far into our Faith, as that for the ſake of many Truths which we find he tells us, we come at length to believe any Lies, wherewith he may abuſe us!" Faith can hardly remove ſuch a Mountain.

holden for the Narrative) Wickedly and Baſely to expoſe me. For you cannot but know how much this repreſentation hath contributed, to make People believe a Smutty thing of me; I am far from thinking, but that in your own Conſcience you believe, that no indecent Action of that Nature could then be done by me before ſuch obſervers, had I been ſo Wicked as to have been inclin'd to what is Baſe. It looks next to impoſſible that a reparation ſhoud be made me for the wrong done to, I hope, as to any Scandal an unblemiſh'd, tho' weak and ſmall Servant of the Church of God. Nor is what follows a leſs untruth, that 'twas an Attendant and not myſelf who ſaid, if *Rule* knows who Afflicts her, yet ſhe wont tell. I therefore ſpoke it that I might encourage her to continue in that concealment of all Names whatſoever; to this I am able to furniſh myſelf with the Atteſtation of Sufficient Oaths. 'Tis as far from true, that my apprehenſion of the Imp, about *Rule*, was on her Belly, for the Oaths of the Spectators, and even of thoſe that thought they felt it, can teſtify that 'twas upon the Pillow, at a diſtance from her Body. As untrue a Repreſentation is that which follows, *Viz.* That it was ſaid unto her, that her not Apprehending of that odd palpable tho' not viſible, Mover was from her Fancy, for I endeavoured to perſwade her that it might be but Fancy in others, that there was any ſuch thing at all. Witneſſes every way ſufficient can be produced

for this alſo. 'tis falſely repreſented that my Father felt on the Young-woman after the appearance mentioned, for his hand was never near her; Oath can ſufficiently vindicate him. 'Tis very untrue, that my Father Prayed for perhaps half an Hour, againſt the power of the Devil and Witchcraft, and that God would bring out the Afflictors. Witneſſes of the beſt Credit, can depoſe, that his Prayer was not a quarter of an Hour, and that there was no more than about one clauſe towards the cloſe of the Prayer, which was of this import; and this clauſe alſo was guarded with a ſingular warineſs and modeſty, *viz.* If there were any evil Inſtruments in this matter God would pleaſe to diſcover them: And that there was more than common reaſon for that petition I can ſatisfie any one that will pleaſe to Inquire of me. And ſtrange it is, that a Gentleman that from 18 to 54 hath been an Exemplary Miniſter of the Goſpel; and that beſides a ſtation in the Church of God, as conſiderable as any that his own Country can afford, hath for divers years come off with honour, in his Application to three Crown'd Heads, and the chiefeſt Nobility of three Kingdoms, knows not yet how to make one ſhort Prayer of a quarter of an hour, but in *New-England* he muſt be Libell'd for it. There are divers other down-right miſtakes, which you [22] have permitted yourſelf, I would hope, not knowingly, and with a Malicious deſign, to be receiver or Compiler of, which I ſhall now forbear to

Animadvert upon. As for the Appendix of the Narrative I do find myſelf therein Injuriouſly treated, for the utmoſt of your proof for what you ſay of me, amounts to little more than, *viz.* Some People told you, that others told them, that ſuch and ſuch things did paſs, but you may aſſure yourſelf, that I am not unfurniſh'd with Witneſſes, that can convict the ſame. Whereas you would give me to believe the bottom of theſe your Methods, to be ſome diſſatisfaction about the commonly receiv'd Power of *Devils* and *Witches;* I do not only with all freedom offer you the uſe of any part of my Library, which you may ſee cauſe to peruſe on that Subject, but alſo if you and any elſe, whom you pleaſe, will viſit me at my Study, yea, or meet me at any other place, leſs inconvenient than thoſe by you propoſ'd; I will with all the fairneſs and calmneſs in the World diſpute the point. I beg of God that he would beſtow as many Bleſſings on you, as ever on myſelf, and out of a ſincere wiſh, that you may be made yet more capable of theſe Bleſſings, I take this occaſion to lay before you the faults (not few nor ſmall ones neither) which the Paper contained, you lately ſent me, in order to be Examined by me. In caſe you want a true and full Narrative of my Viſit, whereof ſuch an indecent Traverſty (to ſay the beſt) hath been made, I am not unwilling to communicate it, in mean time muſt take liberty to ſay, 'Tis ſcarcely conſiſtent with Common Civility, much leſs Chriſtian

Charity, to offer the Narrative, now with you, for a true one, till you have a truer, or for a full one, till you have a fuller. Your Sincere (tho' Injur'd) Friend and Servant,

C. *MATHER.*

The Copy of a Paper Receiv'd with the above Letter.

I DO Teſtifie that I have ſeen *Margaret Rule* in her Afflictions from the Inviſible World, lifted up from her Bed, wholly by an Inviſible force, a great way towards the top of the Room where ſhe lay; in her being ſo lifted, ſhe had no Aſſiſtance from any uſe of her own Arms or Hands, or any other part of her Body, not ſo much as her Heels touching her Bed, or reſting on any ſupport whatſoever. And I have ſeen her thus lifted, when not only a ſtrong Perſon hath thrown his whole weight a croſs her to pull her down; but ſeveral other Perſons have endeavoured, with all their might, to hinder her from being ſo raiſed up, which I ſuppoſe that ſeveral others will teſtifie as well as myſelf, when call'd unto it. Witneſs my Hand,

SAMUEL AVES.[43]

[43] A Family of this Name is ſuppoſed to have lived at the Corner of Lynn Street and Henchman's Lane, as that Corner for a long Period was known as *Aves's Corner*. Savage had never read of *Samuel Aves*. Whether he was of the Family of *John Aves*, baniſhed for attempting to burn the Town in 1679, is not known.—*Hiſt. Boſton*, 431.

WE can alſo Teſtifie to the ſubſtance of what is above Written, and have ſeveral times ſeen [23] *Margaret Rule* ſo lifted up from her Bed, as that ſhe had no uſe of her own Lims to help her up, but it was the declared apprehenſion of us, as well as others that ſaw it, impoſſible for any hands, but ſome of the Inviſible World to lift her.

ROBERT EARLE.[44]
Copia *JOHN WILKINS.*
DAN. WILLIAMS.

WE, whoſe Names are under-writted do teſtifie, That one Evening when we were in the Chamber where *Margaret Rule* then lay, in her late Affliction, we obſerved her to be, by an Inviſible Force, lifted up from the Bed whereon ſhe lay, ſo as to touch the Garret Floor, while yet neither her Feet, nor any other part of her Body reſted either on the Bed, or any other ſupport, but were alſo by the ſame force, lifted up from all that was under her, and all this for a conſiderable while, we judg'd it ſeveral Minutes; and it was as much as ſeveral of us could do, with all our ſtrength to pull her down. All which happened when there was not only we two in the

[44] Robert Earl was the Priſon-keeper or Jailor of the Town at an early Period. John Wilkins was probably the Freeman of 1673. Of Williams, no certain Trace is found. Their Obſcurity will probably ſhield them from further Expoſure.

Chamber, but we ſuppoſe ten or a dozen more, whoſe Names we have forgotten,

Copia THOMAS THORNTON.[45]

William Hudſon[46] *Teſtifies to the ſubſtance of* Thorntons *Teſtimony, to which he alſo hath ſet his Hand.*

Boſton, January 18, 1693.

Mr. *Cotton Mather,*

Reverend SIR,

YOURS of the 15*th* Inſtant, I receiv'd yeſterday; and ſoon found I had promiſed myſelf too much by it, *viz*, Either concurrence with, or a denial of thoſe Fundamentals mentioned in mine, of *Novemb.* the 24*th.* finding this waved by an Invitation to your Library, *&c.* I thank God I have the Bible, and do Judge that ſufficient to demonſtrate that cited Head of Mr. *Gaule*, to be a Truth, as alſo thoſe other Heads mentioned, as the Foundations of Religion. And in my apprehenſion, if it be aſked any Chriſtian, whether God governs the World, and whether it be he only can Commiſſionate Devils, and ſuch other Fundamentals, He ought to be as ready as in the Queſtion, who made him? (a little Writing certainly might be of more uſe, to clear up the controverted points, than either looking over many

[45] Son of Timothy Thornton. His Occupation was that of a Paver.

[46] Perhaps Son of the firſt William Hudſon, one of the firſt Settlers of Boſton.

Books in a well furniſh'd Library, or than a diſpute, if I were qualified for it; the Inconveniencies of Paſſion being this way beſt avoided) And am not without hopes that you will yet oblige me ſo far, as to conſider that Letter, and if I Err, to let me ſee it by Scripture, *&c.*

Yours, almoſt the whole of it, is concerning the Narrative I ſent to you, and you ſeem to intimate as if I were giving Characters, Reflecti-[24] ons, and Libell's, *&c.* concerning yourſelf and Relations; all which were as far from my thoughts, as ever they were in writing after either yourſelf, or any other Miniſter. In the front you declare your apprehenſion to be, that the Afflicted was under a Diabolical Poſſeſſion, and if ſo, I ſee not how it ſhould be occaſion'd by any Witchcraft (unleſs we aſcribe that Power to a Witch, which is only the Prerogative of the Almighty, of Sending or Commiſſionating the Devils to Afflict her.) But to your particular Objections againſt the Narrative; and to the firſt my intelligence not giving me any further, I could not inſert that I knew not. And it ſeems improbable that a Queſtion ſhould be put, whether ſhe knew (or rather who they were) and at the ſame time to charge her, and that upon her Life, not to tell, and if you had done ſo, I ſee but little good you could promiſe yourſelf or others by it, ſhe being Poſſeſt, as alſo having it inculcated ſo much to her of Witchcraft. And as to the next Objection about company flocking, *&c.* I do profeſs my

Ignorance, not knowing what you mean by it. And Sir, that moſt of the Queſtions did carry with them a preſuppoſing the things inquired after, is evident, if there were ſuch as thoſe relating to the *Black-man* and a Book, and about her hearing the Prayer, *&c.* (related in the ſaid Narrative, which I find no Objection againſt.) As to that which is ſaid of mentioning yourſelf firſt diſcourſings and your hopes that your breeding was better (I doubt it not) nor do I doubt your Father might firſt apply himſelf to others; but my intelligence is, that you firſt ſpake to the Afflicted or Poſſeſſed, for which you had the advantage of a nearer approach. The next two Objections are founded upon miſtakes: I find not in the Narrative any ſuch Queſtion, as how many Witches ſit upon you? and that her Breaſt was not covered, in which thoſe material words, (with the Bed-Cloaths) are wholly omitted; I am not willing to retort here your own Language upon you; but can tell you, that your own diſcourſe of it publickly, at Sir *W. P*'s Table, has much more contributed to, *&c.* As to the Reply, if ſhe could ſhe would not tell, whether either or both ſpake it it matters not much. Neither does the Narrative ſay you felt the live thing on her Belly; tho I omit now to ſay what further demonſtrations there are of it. As to that Reply, that is only her fancy, I find the word (her) added. And as to your Fathers feeling for the live Creature after you had felt it, if

it were on the Bed it was not ſo very far from her. And for the length of his Prayer, poſſibly your Witneſſes might keep a more exact account of the time than thoſe others, and I ſtand not for a few Minutes. For the reſt of the Objections I ſuppoſe them of leſs moment, if leſs can be (however ſhall be ready to receive them, thoſe matters of greateſt concern I find no Objections againſt) theſe being all that yet appear, it may be thought that if the Narrative be not [25] fully exact, it was as near as Memory could bear away; but ſhould be glad to ſee one more perfect (which yet is not to be expected, ſeeing none writ at the time.) You mention the appendix, by which I underſtand the Second Viſit, and if you be by the poſſeſſed belyed (as being half an hour with her alone (excluding her own Mother) and as telling her you had Prayed for her Nine times that day, and that now was her Laughing time, ſhe muſt Laugh now) I can ſee no Wonder in it; what can be expected leſs from the Father of Lies, by whom, you Judge, ſhe was poſſeſt.

And beſides the above Letter, you were pleaſed to ſend me another Paper containing ſeveral Teſtimonies of the Poſſeſſed being lifted up, and held a ſpace of ſeveral Minutes to the Garret floor, *&c.* but they omit giving the account, whether after ſhe was down they bound her down: or kept holding her: And relate not how many were to pull her down, which hinders the knowledge what number they muſt be to be

ſtronger than an Inviſible Force. Upon the whole, I ſuppoſe you expect I ſhould believe it; and if ſo, the only advantage gain'd, is that which has been ſo long controverted between Proteſtants and Papiſts, whether miracles are ceaſt, will hereby ſeem to be decided for the latter; it being, for ought I can ſee, if ſo, as true a Miracle as for Iron to ſwim, and that the Devil can work ſuch Miracles.

But Sir, leaving theſe little diſputable things, I do again pray that you would let me have the happineſs of your approbation or confutation of that Letter before referred to.

And now, Sir, that the God of all Grace may enable us Zealouſly to own his Truths, and to follow thoſe things that tend to Peace, and that yourſelf may be as an uſeful Inſtrument in his hand, effectually to ruin the remainders of Heatheniſh and Popiſh Superſtitions, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of yours to command, in what I may. R. C.

Poſtſcript—Sir, I here ſend you the Coppy of a paper that lately came to my Hands, which tho' it contains no Wonders, yet is remarkable, and Runs thus.

An account of what an *Indian* told Captain *Hill*,[47] at *Saco-Fort*.

THE Indian *told him that the* French *Miniſters were better than the Engliſh, for before the* French *came among them there were a great many Witches among the* Indians, *but now there were none, and there were much Witches among the* Engliſh *Miniſters, as* Burroughs, *who was Hang'd for it.*

Were I diſpoſed to make reflections upon it, I ſuppoſe you will Judge the Field large, enough, but I forbear, as above. R. C.

[26] *Boſton Feb. the 19th*, 1693.

Mr. *Cotton Mather*,

Reverend Sir, Having received as yet no Anſwer to mine of *Novemb.* the 24th. except an offer to peruſe Books, *&c.* relating to the Doctrinals therein contain'd: Nor to my laſt of *Jan-*

[47] Captain *John Hill*, of whom Dr. Uſher Parſons has given an intereſting and ample Account in the *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.* for April and July, 1858.

As a Contraſt to the next Sentence of the Text take this: "Some of the Indian Pawawes (*i. e.*, Wizzards) in this Country, have received the Goſpel, and given Good Evidence of a True Converſion to God in Chriſt, have, with much Sorrow of Heart, declared how they had, whilſt in their *Heathenism* by the Hands of Evil Angels Murdered their Neighbors."—Dr. I. Mather, *to the Reader in Angelographia.* In the valuable Collection of Dr. J. S. H. Fogg, of S. Boſton, are many of the Papers of Capt. Hill, of much Intereſt on the Period referred to.

uary the 18th. In which I did again pray that if I err'd I might be ſhewed it by Scripture, *Viz.* in believing that the Devils bounds are ſett, which he cannot paſs; that the Devils are ſo full of Malice that it cant be added to by Mankind: That where he hath power he neither can nor will omit Executing it; That it's only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can commiſſionate him to hurt or deſtroy any; And conſequently to deteſt as erroneous and dangerous, the belief that a Witch can Commiſſionate Devils to Afflict Mortals; That he can at his or the Witches pleaſure aſſume any ſhape: That Hanging or Chaining of Witches can leſſen his Power of Afflicting, and reſtore thoſe that were, at a diſtance, Tormented by him. And whether Witchcraft ought to be underſtood now in this Age, to be the ſame that it was when the Divine Oracles were given forth, particularly, thoſe quoted by Mr. *Gaule* in that cited Head (*Wonders of the Inviſible World*;[48] Mr. *Gaules* IV. Head, to diſcover Witches) which do ſo plainly ſhew a Witch, in Scripture-ſenſe to be one that maligne, *&c.* And that pretend to give a Sign in order to ſeduce, *&c.* For I have never underſtood in my time, any ſuch have Suffered as Witches, tho' ſufficiently known; But the only Witch now inquired after, is one that is ſaid to become ſo by making an Explicit Covenant with the Devil, *i. e.* the Devil appearing to them, and making a com-

[48] See Vol. I, Page 37, of theſe Volumes.

pact mutually, promiſing each to other, teſtified by their ſigning his Book, a material Book, which he is ſaid to keep and that thereby they are Intituled to a power, not only to Afflict others, but ſuch as is truly exorbitant, if not highly intrenching upon the prerogative of him, who is the Soveraign being; For who is he that ſaith, and it cometh to paſs, when the Lord commandeth it not.

Such explicit Covenant being as is ſaid in this Age reckoned eſſential to compleat a Witch: Yet I finding nothing of ſuch covenant (or power thereby obtain'd) in Scripture, and yet a Witch therein ſo fully deſcrib'd, do pray that if there be any ſuch Scriptures I may be directed to them, for as to the many Legends in this caſe I make no account of them; I Read indeed of a Covenant with Death and with Hell, but ſuppoſe that to be in the Heart (or *Mental*) only, and ſee not what uſe ſuch explicit one can be of between Spirits, any further than as 'tis a Copy of that *Mental* which is in the Heart. The dire effects and conſequences of ſuch notion may be found written in indelible *Roman* Characters of Blood in all Countryes where they have prevail'd, and what can leſs be [27] expected when Men are Indicted for that, which, as 'tis impoſſible to prove ſo, for any to clear himſelf of, *Viz*, Such explicit Covenant with the Devil, and then for want of better Evidence, muſt take up with ſuch as the Nature of ſuch ſecret Covenant can bear, as Mr.

Gaule hath it, *i. e.* Diſtracted Stories, and ſtrange and Foreign Events, *&c.* Thereby endeavouring to find it, though by it's but ſuppoſed effects; By the ſame Rules that one is put to purge himſelf of ſuch Compact, by the ſame may all Mankind.[49]

This then being ſo Important a caſe, it concerns all to know what Foundations in Scripture is laid for ſuch a Structure; For if they are deficient of that Warrant, the more Eminent the Architects are the more dangerous are they thereby rendered, *&c.* Theſe are ſuch conſiderations as I think will vindicate me in the eſteem of all Lovers of Humanity, in my endeavours to get them cleared. And to that End, do once more pray, that you would ſo farr oblige me as to give your Approbation or Confutation of the above Doctrinals; But if you think ſilence a Vertue in this caſe, I ſhall (I ſuppoſe) ſo far comply with it as not to looſe you any more time to look over my papers. And if any others will ſo far oblige me, I ſhall not be ungrateful to them; Praying God to guide and proſper you, I am, Sir, yours to my power,

R. C.

(*He that doth Truth, cometh to the Light.*)

[49] The Abſurdity of the Practice of the Courts then in Uſe, in their ſhocking Abuſes of accuſed Perſons, will be found in all its Deformity, on peruſing the Trials of thoſe Days. The Practice of inſulting and browbeating thoſe on Trial was according to the Cuſtom of the Engliſh Courts of thoſe Days, and for a long Time after.

Boſton April *the* 16*th*, 1694.

Mr. *Cotton Mather.*

Reverend Sir,

HAVING as yet Received no Anſwer to my laſt, touching the Doctrinals therein referred to, tho' at the delivery of it, you were pleaſed to promiſe the Gentleman that preſented it, that I ſhould have it, and after that you acqainted the ſame Gentleman that you were about it. The length of time ſince thoſe promiſes, makes me ſuppoſe you are preparing ſomething for the Preſs (for I would not queſtion your veracity) do think it may not be amiſs, when you do any thing of that Nature for the publick view, that you alſo explain ſome paſſages of ſome late Books of yours and your Relations, which are hard to be underſtood, to Inſtance in a few of many Wonders of the *Inviſible World*, pag. 17. [Plagues *are ſome of theſe woes with which the Devil cauſes our Trouble*, pag. 18. *Hence come ſuch Plagues as that beſom of deſtruction which within our Memory ſwept away ſuch a throng of People from one* Engliſh city, *in one Viſitation.* Wars *are ſome of thoſe woes with which the Devil cauſes our Trouble*, pag. 16. *Hence 'tis that the Devil like a Dragon keeping a Guard upon ſuch Fruits as would refreſh a Languiſhing World, has hindered Mankind for many Ages from hitting upon thoſe uſefull Inventions. The benighted World muſt Jogg on for thouſands of Years, without the*

knowledge of the Load-ſtone, Printing and Spectacles, pag. 10, *It is* [28] *not likely that every Devil does know every Language. 'Tis poſſible the Experience, or if I may call it ſo, the Education of all Devils is not alike; Caſes of conſcience*, page 63. *The Devil has inflicted on many the Diſeaſe call'd* Lycanthropia.[50]

Memor. provid. Relat. to Witch. Diſc. on Wit. pag. 24. *I am alſo apt to think that the Devils are ſeldom able to hurt us in any of our exteriour concerns, without a Commiſſion from ſome of our fellow Worms. When foul Mouth'd Men ſhall wiſh harm to their Neighbours, they give a Commiſſion to the Devil to perform what they deſire, and if God ſhould not Mercifully prevent, they would go thro' with it; Hear this you that in wilde Paſſion will give every thing to the Devil; Hear it you that beſpeak a Rot, a Pox, or a Plague, on all that ſhall provoke you; I here Indict you as Guilty of Helliſh Witchcraft in the Sight of God.* ~~More~~ Wonders of the Inviſible World, *pag.* 49. *They each of them have their Spectres or Devils Commiſſioned by them and repreſenting of them*, pag. 14. *But ſuch a permiſſion from God for the Devil to come down and break in upon Mankind muſt often times be accompanied with a Cnmmiſſion from ſome of Mankind itſelf*, Inchantments Encountered. *Theſe Witches*

[50] Nothing was more common among thoſe who imagined themſelves bewitched, than the Notion that they were transformed into Cats, and other Animals; and that in thoſe Shapes they attended Witch Meetings. At ſuch Meetings the Devil was always preſent, and acted as Maſter of Ceremonies. A very ſure Evidence of Inſanity.

have driven a Trade of Commiſſionating their confederate Spirits, to do all ſorts of Miſchiefs to their Neighbours, pag. 50. *They have bewitched ſome even ſo farr, as to make them Self-deſtroyers, pag.* 144. *As I am abundantly ſatisfied, that many of the Self-murders committed here, have been the effects of a cruel and Bloody Witchcraft, letting fly* Dæmons *upon the Miſerable Seneca's, pag.* 51. *We have ſeen ſome of their Children ſo Dedicated to the Devil, that in their Infancy the Imps have ſucked them.* Caſes of conſcience, *pag.* 24. *They bequeath their* Dæmons *to their Children as a Legacy, by whom they are often aſſiſted to ſee and do things beyond the Power of Nature, pag.* 21. *There are in* Spain *a ſort of People call'd* Zahurs,[51] *that can ſee into the Bowels of the Earth.* [*On* Tueſdays *and* Fridays,] (and to add) that in pag. 49. The words are [*For the Law of God allows of no Revelation from any other Spirit but himſelf, Iſa.* viii. 19. *It is a Sin againſt God to make uſe of the Devils help, to know that which cannot be otherways known; and I teſtify againſt it as a great tranſgreſſion, which may Juſtly provoke the Holy one of* Iſrael, *to let looſe Devils on the whole Land.*] Altho the Devils Accuſation may be ſo far regarded, as to cauſe an inquiry into the Truth of things, *Job.* i. 11, 12, and ii, 5, 6. *Yet not ſo as to be an*

[51] Called in Captain John Stevens's *Spaniſh and Engliſh Dictionary, Cahori,* which is defined, "one that pretends to ſee into the Bowels of the Earth, through Stone Walls, or into a Man's Body; a Cheat put upon the Ignorant." There is ſomething very ſimilar in our Times, even leaving out the Founder of the Mormon Sect.

Evidence or Ground of Conviction, for the Devils Teſtimony ought not to be taken in WHOLE Nor In PART.] It is a known Truth, that ſome unwary expreſſions of the primative Fathers, were afterwards improved for the Introducing and eſtabliſhing of Error, as their calling the Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of God, *&c.* Hence occaſion and Advantage was taken to propagate the Idolizing of her (the like might be ſaid of the *Eucha*[29]*riſt*, theſe aſſertions, above rehearſed, being apparently liable to a like Male Conſtruction, and no leſs dangerous, are therefore as I ſaid highly needful to be explain'd, and that in a moſt publick manner. For were they to be underſtood Litterally and as they are ſpoken, it muſt ſeem as if the Authors were Introducing among Chriſtians very dangerous Doctrines, ſuch, as were they aſſerted by the beſt of Men, yet ought to be rejected by all, *&c. Viz.* That 'tis the Devil that brings the moſt of Evils upon Mankind, by way of Infliction, that do befall them; And that the Witch can commiſſionate him to the performance of theſe, with many others as dangerous Doctrines, and ſuch as ſeem in their tendency to look favourably upon the Antient *Pagan* Doctrine of this countrey, who did believe that God did hurt to none, but Good to all, but that the Devil muſt be pleaſ'd by Worſhipping, *&c.* From whom came all their Miſeries, as they believed. For what were all this but to Rob God of his Glory in the higheſt manner, and giving it to a Devil

and a Witch; Is it not he that has ſaid ſhall there be Evil in a City and the Lord hath not done it? But if any are fond of their own notions becauſe ſome Eminent Men have before now aſſerted them; they may do well to compare them with that excellent ſaying, *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, pag. 7. [*About this Devil there are many things, whereof we may reaſonably and profitably be inquiſitive, ſuch things I mean as are in our Bibles reveal'd to us; according to which if we do not ſpeak on ſo dark a Subject, but according to our own uncertain and perhaps Humourſom Conjectures, there is no Light in us.* Or that other, pag. 75. *At every other Weapon the Devil will be too hard for us.*] For 'tis moſt certain that other Notions, Weapons and Practices have been taken up with; And that the event has been anſwerable, the Devil has been too hard for ſuch as have ſo done. I ſhall forbear to inſtance from the Dogmatical part, and ſhall mention ſome practices that as much need explaining. *Mem. provid. Relat. to Witch. pag.* 29, 30, 31.[52] Where account is given that it was Pray'd for that the afflicted might be able to declare, whom ſhe apprehended herſelf Afflicted by, together with the Immediate anſwer of ſuch Prayer. To this you once Reply'd when it was mentioned to you, that you did not then underſtand the wiles of *Satan*.

[52] This Work, here often referred to, was printed in 1689. Its more extended Title is, *Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Poſſeſſions*, in a 16mo. But few Copies are known to exiſt.

To which I have nothing to object, but it might be a good Acknowledgment; But conſidering that the Book is gone forth into all the World, cannot but think the Salve ought to be proportion'd to the Sore, and the notice of the Devils wiles as Univerſal, as the means recommending them. Another Practice is *pag.* 20, 21. [*There was one ſingular paſſion that frequently attended her, an Inviſible Chain would be clapt about her, and ſhe in much pain and fear cry out when they began to put it on, once I did with my own hand knock it off as it began to be faſtened about her.*] [30] If this were done by the power or Vertue of any ord'nance of Divine Inſtitution, it is well, but would have been much better if the Inſtitution had been demonſtrated, or was there any Phyſical Vertue in that particular Hand. But ſuppoſing that neither of theſe will be aſſerted by the Author, I do think it very requiſite, that the World may be acquainted with the Operation, and to what Art or Craft to refer their Power of Knocking off *Inviſible Chains.*

And thus, Sir, I have Faithfully diſcharged (what in this I took to be my Duty) and am ſo far from doing it to gain applauſe, or from a Spirit of Contradiction, that I expect to procure me many Enemies thereby, (but as in caſe of a Fire) where the Glory of God, and the Good and Wĕllfare of Mankind are ſo nearly concern'd, I thought it my duty to be no longer an Idle Spectator; And can, and do ſay, to the Glory of

God, in this whole Affair, I have endeavoured a Conſcience voide of offence, both towards God and towards Man; And therein at the leaſt have the advantage of ſuch as are very Jealous they have done ſo much herein, as to Sin in what they have done, *viz.* In ſheltring the Accuſed, ſuch have been the Cowardice and Fearfulneſs, whereunto the regard to the Diſſatisfaction of other People have precipitated them; Which by the way muſt needs acquaint all, that for the future other meaſures are reſolved upon (by ſuch) which how Bloody they may prove when opportunity ſhall offer, is with him who orders all things, according to the counſel of his own Will: And now that the Song of Angels may be the Emulation of Men, is the earneſt Deſire, and Prayer, of Sir, Yours to Command in what I may,

R. C.

Glory to God in the Higheſt, and on Earth Peace and good Will towards Men.

Boſton, March the 1ſt. 1694.

i.e. 1695 of our calendar

Mr. B.[53] *Worthy Sir,*

AFTER more than a Years waiting for the performance of a reiterated promiſe from one under ſingular obligations, and a multitude

[53] I ſuppoſe Mr. Thomas Brattle, the then Treaſurer of Harvard College. He was a principal Founder of the Church in Brattle Square, known by his Name. He wrote an Account of the Witchcraft of 1692, which laid in Manuſcript about one hundred Years, when Dr. Belknap cauſed it to be printed in Part, in the *Colls. Ms. H. So-*

of advantages to have done it ſooner, The utmoſt compliance I have mett with, is (by your Hands) the ſight of four Sheets of recinded Papers, but I muſt firſt be obliged to return them in a Fortnight, and not Copied, which I have now complied with: And having read them am not at all Surprized at the Authors Caution in it, not to admit of ſuch crude matter and impertinent abſurdities, as are to be found in it to ſpread. He ſeems concern'd that I take no notice of his ſeveral Books, wherein, as he ſaith, he has unanſwerably proved things to which I might reply, that I have ſent him letters of quotations out of thoſe Books, to know how much of them he will abide by, for I thought it hard to affix their [31] Natural conſequences till he had opportunity to explain them. And ſaith that he had ſent me (Mr. Baxters *World of Spirits*) an ungainſayable Book, *&c.* (tho I know no ungainſayable Book, but the Bible) which Book I think no Man that has read it, will give ſuch a Title to but the Author, he ſpeaks of my reproaching his publick Sermons, of which I am not conſcious to myſelf, unleſs it be about his interpretation of a *Thunder Storm* (that broke into his Houſe) which ſavoured ſo much of Enthuſiaſm.[54]

ciety, v, 61-80. Mr. Brattle was a Scholar, a Graduate of Harvard College, and, like Mr. Calef, a Merchant of Boſton. His Communications to the Royal Society of London procured him the Title of F. R. S.

It is poſſible that the Initial (Mr. B—) may ſtand for Gov. Bradſtreet; but I preſume Mr. Brattle is meant.

[54] It muſt have been difficult for a common-ſenſe Man, as Mr. Calef was, to hear ſuch Matters treated

As to thoſe papers, I have (as I read them) noted in the Margin where, in a haſty reading, I thought it needful, of which it were unreaſonable for him to complain; ſeeing I might not take a Copy, thereby to have been inabled, more at leaſure to digeſt what were needfull to be ſaid on ſo many Heads; and as I have not flatter'd him, ſo for telling what was ſo needful, with the hazard of making ſo many Enemies by it, I have approved myſelf one of his beſt Friends: And beſides his own ſenſe of the weakneſs of his Anſwer, teſtified by the prohibition above, he has wholly declined anſwering to moſt of thoſe things that I had his promiſe for, and what he pretends to ſpeak to, after mentioning, without the needful Anſwer or Proof drops it.

His firſt main Work is after his definition of a Witch, which he never proves (without ſaying any thing to Mr. *Gauls* Scriptural deſcription, tho' ſo often urged to it, and tho' himſelf has in his Book recommended and quoted it) is to magnifie the Devils Power, and that as I think beyond

ſeriouſly in the Pulpit, and keep his Riſibility under complete Controll. If Thunder and Lightning were the Work of the Devil, as it ſeems Mr. Mather believed, it is not very ſtrange that he ſhould diſcover ſome very odd Pranks in their Operations. The Father (Dr. I. Mather) relates, among his *Philoſophical Meditations*, that as "a Man was walking, in Auguſt, 1682, in the Field, near Darking in England, he was ſtruck with a Clap of Thunder; on being taken up, his dead Body was found exceeding hot, and withall ſmelling ſtrong of Sulphur, inſomuch that they were forced to drop him, and let him ly a conſiderable Time ere he could be removed. It is reported that ſometimes Thunder and Lightning has been generated out of the ſulphurous and bituminous Matter which the firey Mountain Ætna hath caſt forth."

and againſt the Scripture, this takes him up about 11 *Pages*, and yet in *Page* 22 again returns to it, and as *I* underſtand it, takes part with the *Phariſees* againſt our Saviour in the Argument, for they charge him that he caſt out Devils thro' *Beelzebub*, Our Saviours Anſwer is, *Mat.* xii. 25. *Every Kingdom divided againſt itſelf is brought to deſolation; and every City or Houſe divided againſt itſelf, ſhall not ſtand, and if Satan caſt out Satan, he is divided againſt himſelf, how ſhall then his Kingdom ſtand:* And yet notwithſtanding this Anſwer together with what follows, for further Illuſtration, our Author is it ſeems reſolved to aſſert that our Saviour did not in this Anſwer deny that many did ſo, (*viz.*) caſt out Devils by *Beelzebub*, and *Page* 23 grants that the Devils have a Miraculous Power, but yet muſt not be call'd miracles, and yet can be diſtinguiſhed, as he intimates, only by the Conſcience or Light within, to the no ſmall ſcandal of the Chriſtian Religion.

Tho' our Saviour and his Apoſtles accounts this the chief or principal proof of his Godhead, *John* xx. 30, 31. *John* x. 37, 38. *John* v. 30. *Mark* xvi. 17, 18. *Acts* ii. 22. and iv. 30. with many others and that Miracles belong only to God, who alſo Governs the World, *Pſal.* cxxxvi. 4. *Jer.* xiv. 22. *Iſa.* xxxviii. 8. *Pſal.* lxii. 11. *Lam.* iii. 37. *Amos* iii. 6. [32] But to forbear quoting that which the Scripture is moſt full in, do only ſay that he that dares aſſert the Devil to have ſuch a Miraculous Power had need have

other Scriptures than ever I have ſeen. In *Page* 12. our Author proceeds and ſtates a queſtion to this effect, If the Devil has ſuch Powers, and cant exert them without permiſſion from God, what can the Witch contribute thereunto? Inſtead of an Anſwer, to this weighty objection, our Author firſt concedes that the Devil's do ordinarily exert their Powers, without the Witches contributing to it, but yet that to the end to increaſe their guilt he may cheat a Witch, by making her believe herſelf the Author of them.[55] His next is, if Witchcraft be, as I ſuppoſe it is, the ſkill of applying the Plaſtic Spirit of the World, *&c.* then the conſent of the Witch doth naturally contribute to that miſchiefs that the Devil does. And his laſt anſwer runs to this effect, Is it not the Ordination of God, that where the Devil can get the conſent of a Witch for the hurting of others, the hurt ſhall as certainly be as if they had ſet Maſtiff Dogs upon them, or had given them Poyſon into their Bowels; and Gods Providence muſt be as great in delivering from one as from the other, and this it ſeems is not only his Belief, but the moſt Orthodox and moſt learned anſwer that our Author could pitch upon. If Witchcraft be as I ſuppoſe it is, *&c.* and is it not the

[55] There ſeems always to have been great Confuſion, and no leſs Perplexity, among Believers in Witchcraft reſpecting the Parts to be aſſigned to the Devil and the Witch reſpectively. Sometimes they aſſure us that the Devil commiſſions the Witch, and ſometimes that the Witch governs the Devil. Hence, even Believers are very much puzzled to know *what to believe.* See Vol. I, *Introd.*, Pages xviii, xix.

Ordination of God, that, *&c.* What is all this but precarious, and begging the queſtion, and a plain dropping the Argument he cannot manage; however, to amuſe the Ignorant, and to confound the Learned, he hooks in a cramp word, if not a nonentity, (*viz.*) *Plaſtic* Spirit of the World, for who is it either knows that there is a *Plaſtic Spirit*, or what it is, or how this can any way ſerve his purpoſe.[56]

He then proceeds to *Scripture* Inſtances of Witches, *&c.* and where I thought it needful, I have, as I ſaid, ſhewed my diſſent from his Judgment: He accounts it unreaſonable to be held to the proof of his definition of a Witch, which he makes to conſiſt in a Covenant with the Devil, and chuſes rather a tedious proceſs about a Piſtol to defend him from it, which indeed is one particular way whereby Murder has been Committed, and ſo the Dore becomes Culpable; But his definition of a *Witch*, which as I ſaid, ſtill remains to be proved, is to this effect, That a *Witch* is one that Covenants with, and Commiſſions *Devils* to

[56] It would no doubt puzzle the Devil himſelf to explain that Term, *Plaſtic Spirit*. It appears to have been made uſe of for the ſame Reaſon that a certain Fiſh diſcolors the Water when purſued by an Enemy.

The following Ideas reſpecting the Devil then entertained may not be out of Place in this Connection: "The Devil is the oldeſt Sinner, and the moſt curſed Creature in all the World. It is ſaid, Iſa. 65, 20. *That the Sinner of an hundred Years ſhall be accurſed.* But then what ſhall the Sinner be that is more than 5000 Years old? The Devil and all the Angels that ſinned with him, are Sinners of above 5000 Years old, and will therefore become the moſt accurſed and damned Creatures in the whole Univerſe at the Great Day."—Dr. I. Mather, *Angelographia*, 120.

do miſchiefs, that ſhe is one in Covenant, or that by Vertue of ſuch Covenant ſhe can Commiſſionate him to Kill. The not bringing Scripture to prove theſe two, is a ſufficient demonſtration there is none; and ſo that our Author leaves off juſt where he began, *viz.* in a bare Aſſertion, together with his own Biggoted experiences, hinting alſo at multitudes of Hiſtories to confirm him in the belief of his definition. Here being all that I take notice of to be conſiderable.

[33] And now, Sir, if you think fit to improve your Friendſhip with the Author for the Glory of God, the Sovereign Being, the good and welfare of *Mankind*, and for his real and true Intereſt, as you ſee it convenient, put him in mind, That the Glory of God is the end why *Mankind* was made, and why *He* hath ſo many Advantages to it. That the Flames we have ſeen threatning the utter extirpation of the Country, muſt own their Original to theſe dangerous Errors (if not hereſies) which if they remain Unextinguiſhed, may and moſt likely will be acted over again.

That 'tis more Honour to own an Error in time, than tenaciouſly after full Conviction to retain it. But if our Author will again Vindicate ſuch matters, pleaſe to acquaint him, that I ſhall not any more receive his Papers, if I may not Copy and uſe them; and that when he does, inſtead of ſuch abſtruſe matters, I ſtill pray his determination in thoſe things I have his promiſe

for. And thus begging Pardon for thus long detaining of you, I am, Sir, your to Command,

R. C.

Boſton, March 18, 1694. i.e. 1695 of our calendar

To the Miniſters, whether Engliſh, French, *or* Dutch,

I Having had not only occaſion, but renewed provocation to take a view of the Myſterious Doctrines, which have of late been ſo much conteſted among us, could not meet with any that had ſpoken more, or more plainly the ſenſe of thoſe Doctrines (relating to the *Witchcraft*) than the Reverend Mr. *C. M.* but how clearly and conſiſtent, either with himſelf or the truth, I medle not now to ſay, but cannot but ſuppoſe his ſtrenuous and Zealous aſſerting his opinions, has been one cauſe of the diſmal Convulſions we have here lately fallen into; Suppoſing that his Books of *Memorable Providences*, relating to Witchcraft, as alſo his *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, did contain in them things not warrantable, and very dangerous, I ſent to him a Letter of Quotations out of thoſe Books, *&c.*

That ſo, if it might have been, I might underſtand what tollerable Senſe he would put upon his own words, which I took to be a better way of Proceeding, than to have affixed what I thought to be their natural conſequences, and leſt I might be Judged a Sceptic I gave him a full

and free account of my belief relating to thoſe Doctrines, together with the grounds thereof; And prayed him that if I err'd I might be ſhewed it by Scripture, and this I had his reiterated promiſe for. But after more than a Years waiting for the performance thereof, all that is done in compliance therewith, is that in *Feb.* laſt, he ſent me four ſheets of his writing as his belief, but before I might receive it I muſt engage to deliver it back in a Fortnight and not Copy'd.[57] A Summary account [34] of which I ſhall give you, when I have firſt acquainted you what the Doctrines were which I ſent to him for his concurrence with, or confutation of, and to which I had his promiſe, as above.

Theſe by way of Queſtion, (*Viz.*) whether that fourth Head cited and recommended by himſelf (In *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, of Mr. *Gauls*) ought to be believed as a truth, which runs thus; Among the moſt unhappy circumſtances to Convict a Witch, one is a Maligning and Oppugning the Word, Work, and Worſhip of God, and ſeeking by any Extraordinary ſign to ſeduce any from it, *Deut.* xiii. 1, 2. *Mat.* xxiv. 24. *Acts* xiii. 8, 10. 2 *Tim.* iii. 8. do but mark well the

[57] In Anſwer to this, the Dr. ſays: "The Reaſon that made me unwilling to truſt any of my Writings in the Hands of this Man, was becauſe I ſaw the *Weaver* (though he preſumes to call himſelf a *Merchant*) was a Stranger to all the Rules of Civility." This is the Kind of Anſwer which every impartial Reader will decide, redounds entirely to the Credit of Mr. Calef, and that *Civility* is alſo altogether on his Side. Yet, in an Air of Triumph the Doctor adds: "The *Antiſcriptural Doctrines* eſpouſed by this Man do alſo call for no further Anſwer."

places, and for this very property of thus oppugning and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and abſolute Witches.

And if in Witchcraft the Devil by means of a Witch does the Miſchief, how 'tis poſſible to diſtinguiſh it from Poſſeſſion, both being ſaid to be performed by the Devil, and yet without an Infallible diſtinction there can be no certainty in Judgment. And whether it can be proved that the *Jewiſh* Church in any Age before, or in our Saviours time, even in the time of their greateſt Apoſtacy did believe that a Witch had power to Commiſſionate Devils to do Miſchief.

So much to the Queſtions. Theſe were ſent as my belief: That the devils bounds are ſett, that he cant paſs; That the devils are ſo full of Malice, that it cant be added to by Mankind; That where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it; That 'tis only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can Commiſſionate him to hurt or deſtroy. And now I ſhall give you the Summary account of his four ſheets above mentioned, as near as memory could recollect, in Ten Particulars.

I. That the Devils have in their Natures a power to work Wonders and Miracles; particularly that the *Phariſees* were not miſtaken in aſſerting that the Devils might be caſt out by *Beelzebub;* and that our Saviours Anſwer does not oppoſe that aſſertion; and that he hath the Power of Death, that he can make the moſt Solid things

Inviſible; and can Inviſibly bring poyſon and force it down Peoples Throats.[58]

2. That to aſſert this Natural, wonderful Power of the Devil, makes moſt for the Glory of God, in preſerving Man from its effects,

3. Yet this Power is reſtrained by the Almighty, as pleaſeth him.

4. That a Witch is one that makes a Covenant with the Devil.

5. That by vertue of ſuch a Covenant, ſhe arrives at a Power to Commiſſionate him.

6. That God has ordain'd, that when the Devil is call'd upon by the Witch, tho' he were before reſtrained by the Almighty, the deſired miſchiefs

[58] In this Connection it may be intereſting to have the Views of Dr. Increaſe Mather reſpecting the Attributes of the Devil.

"There were many of them [the Devils Angels] that were concerned in that firſt Tranſgreſſion and Rebellion againſt the Lord. It is ſaid, Epheſ. 2. 3. That the Devil is *the Prince of the Power of the Air.* So that there is a *Power*, an *Hoſt*, a vaſt *Army* of thoſe Evil Spirits, that did joyn with the Devil, in ſetting themſelves againſt the Great God. How many, is not for us to ſay, the Written Word of God not ſpeaking anything as to the Quantity of their Number; only it is manifeſt from the Scripture, that there are far more Angels that have ſinned, far more Devils than there are Men in all the World. There is not a Man in the whole World but there are Devils to tempt him continually. And if ſo, they muſt needs be more in Number than Men are. We read in the Goſpel of no leſs than a Legion of Devils in one poor miſerable Man. Luk. 8, 30. You read there of a poſſeſed Man, and Chriſt demanded of the Evil Spirit what his Name was: The chief Devil among them made Anſwer, *It is Legion for we are many.* A Legion is ſix Thouſand ſix Hundred and Sixty-ſix. Now then, if the Devil has ſuch vaſt Numbers of Infernal Spirits under him; if he has ſuch Troops of them, as that he can ſpare no leſs than a Legion to afflict, and as it were to keep Garriſon in one poor miſerable Man: what prodigious Numbers of Evil Angels muſt there needs be."—*Angelographia,* 111-112. See alſo *The Devil Diſcovered,* Vol. I, 217-247.

ordinarily ſhall as certainly be performed, as if the Witch had [35] lodged poyſon in the Bowels of her Neighbour, or had ſet Maſtiff Dogs on them.

7. That the Witche's Art of applying the *Plaſtic Spirit of the World* to unlawful purpoſes, does Naturally contribute to the miſchiefs done by the Devil.

8. That that God which reſtrain'd an *Abimelich* and a *Laban* from hurting, does alſo reſtrain the Witch from Calling upon or Improving the Devil, when he will not have his Power ſo exerted.

9. That to have a Familiar Spirit, is to be able to cauſe a Devil to take bodily ſhapes, whereby either to give reſponſes, or to receive orders for doing miſchief.

10. That this is the Judgment of moſt of the Divines in the Countrey, whether *Engliſh, Dutch or French.*[59]

[59] Dr. Mather's Animadverſions on theſe "*Ten Articles*" ſhould be read in Connection: "When he ſent about unto all the Miniſters a *Libellous Letter* againſt myſelf, falſely charging me with writing in a Manuſcript of mine *Ten Articles* (which are of his own drawing up) whereof the chief are of his *own pure Invention*, there was not one of all thoſe reverend Perſons, who thought him worthy of an Anſwer. And now his Book is come abroad, I cannot hear (and many obſerve the Like) of ſo much as one vertuous and ſenſible Man, but let their Opinions about the *Salem* Troubles be what they will, they deteſt it, as, a *Vile Book;* as being an intire Libel upon the whole *Government* and *Miniſtry* in the Land; yea, they think it beneath a Miniſter of the Goſpel to beſtow the Pains of an *Anſwer* upon it. The Book ſerves but as an Engine to diſcover (by their approbation of it) a few Perſons in the Land that will diſtinguiſh themſelves by an exalted *Malignity.*" *Some Few Remarks on a Scandalous Book*, 34-5.

This as I ſaid, I took to be moſt material in the four ſheets ſent to me as his belief, and is alſo all the performance he has yet made of his ſeveral promiſes; which ten Articles being done only by memory, leſt thro' miſtake or want of the Original, I might have committed any errors, I ſent them to him that, if there were any, they might be rectified: But inſtead of ſuch an Anſwer, as might be expected from a Miniſter and a learn'd Gentleman, one Mr. *W*— ſhewed me a Letter writ by Mr. *C. M*— to himſelf, which I might read, but neither borrow nor Copy, and ſo, if I were minded, could give but a ſhort account of it.

And paſſing over his hard Language, which, as I am conſcious to myſelf; I never deſerv'd, (relating to my writing in the margin of the four ſheets; and to theſe ten Articles) ſo I hope I underſtand my Duty, better than to imitate him in retorting the like. Among his many words in his ſaid Letters, I meet with two ſmall Objections; one is againſt the word (*Miracle*) in the firſt Article, the word, I ſay, not the matter, for the works he attributes to the Devil are the ſame in their being above or againſt the Courſe of Nature and all Natural cauſes, yet he will not admit of theſe to be call'd Miracles. And hence he reckon's it the greateſt difficulty he meets with in this whole affair, to diſtinguiſh the works of the Devil from Miracles. And hence alſo he concedes to the Devil the Power to make the

moſt Solid things Inviſible, and Inviſibly to bring Poyſon and force it down Peoples Throats, *&c.* Which I look upon to be as true Miracles as that. 2 *Kings* vi. 18. and this is the ſenſe I underſtand the word in, and in this ſenſe, he himſelf in the four ſheets admits it; for he has an objection to this effect, *Viz.* [If the Devils have ſuch power, *&c.* then miracles are not ceaſ'd; and where are we then? (his Anſwer is) Where! even juſt where we were before, ſay I] ſo that it ſeems the only offence here is at my uſing his words. His ſecond objection (for weight) is againſt the whole ninth Article, and wonders [36] how 'tis poſſible for one Man ſo much to miſunderſtand another; Yet as I remember, he ſpeaking of the Witch of *Endor* in the ſaid four ſheets ſays, ſhe had a familiar Spirit, and that [a Spirit belonging to the Inviſible World, upon her calling appear'd to *Saul*] *&c.* and if ſo 'tis certain he gave reſponſes, he alſo tells of *Balaam*, that it was known that he could ſet Devils on People to deſtroy them, and therefore how this objection ſhould bear any Force I ſee not; The reſt of the objections are of ſo ſmall weight that once reading may be ſufficient to clear them up, and if this be not ſo, he can, when he pleaſes, by making it Publick together with the Margins I writ, Convince all People of the truth of what he aſſerts; But here 'tis to be noted, that the 2*d.* 3*rd.* 4*th.* and 5*th* Articles he concedes to, as having nothing to object againſt

them, but that they are his belief; and that the *6th.* and *7th.* he puts for Anſwer to an objection which he thus frames, *Viz.* If the Devil have ſuch powers but cannot exert them but by permiſſion from God, what can the Witch contribute thereto. And thus I have faithfully performed what I undertook, and do ſolemnly declare, I have not intentionally in the leaſt wronged the Gentleman concern'd, nor deſign'd the leaſt blemiſh to his Reputation; but if it ſtands in competition with the Glory of God, the only Almighty Being, his truths and his Peoples welfare, I ſuppoſe theſe too valuable to be trampled on for his ſake, tho' in other things I am ready to my power (tho' with denying ſome part of my own intereſt) to ſerve him. Had this Gentleman declin'd or detracted his four ſheets, I ſee not but he might have done it, and which I think there was cauſe enough for him to have done, but to own the four ſheets, and at the ſame time to diſown the Doctrine contain'd in them, and this knowing that I have no Copy, renders the whole of the worſe aſpect.

And now I ſhall give you a further account of my Belief, when I have firſt premiſed, that 'tis a prevailing Belief in this Countrey, and elſewhere, that the Scriptures are not full in the Deſcription of, and in the way and means how to detect a Witch, tho' poſitive in their Puniſhment to be by Death; and that hence they have thought themſelves under a neceſſity of taking up with

the Sentiments of ſuch Men or Places that are thought worthy to give rules to detect them by: And have accordingly practiſed, *viz.* In ſearching for Tets for the Devil to ſuck; Trying whether the ſuſpected can ſay the Lords Prayer; And whether the Afflicted falls at the ſight, and riſes at the touch of the ſuppoſed Witch; As alſo by the Afflicted or Poſſeſſed giving account who is the Witch.

Touching theſe my belief is, that 'tis highly Derogatory to the wiſdom of the Wiſe Lawgiver, to aſcert, That he has given a Law by *Moſes*, the Penalty whereof is Death; and yet no direction to his People, whereby to know and detect the culpable, till our *Triumvirate* Mr. [37] *Perkins*, *Gaul* and *Bernard*, had given us their receits, and that that fourth Head of Mr. *Gauls*, being ſo well prov'd by Scripture is a truth, and contains a full and clear Teſtimony, who are Witches culpable of Death, and that plainly and from Scripture, yet not excluding any other branch, when as well proved by that infallible rule. And that the going to the Afflicted or Poſſeſſed, to have them Divine who are Witches by their Spectral ſight, is a great wickedneſs, even the Sin of *Saul* (for which he alſo Died) but with this difference, the one did it for Augury, or to know future Events, the other in order to take away Life; and that the ſearching for Tets, the experiment of their ſaying the Lords Prayer; the falling at the ſight and riſing at the touch of the ſuppoſed

Criminal, being all of them foreign from Scripture, as well as reaſon, are abominations to be abhor'd and repented of. And that our *Salem* Witchcraft, either reſpecting the Judges and Juries, their tenderneſs of Life, or the Multitude and pertinency of witneſſes, both Afflicted and Confeſſors, or the Integrity of the Hiſtorians, are as Authentic, and made as certain as any ever of that kind in the World; and yet who is it that now ſees not through it, and that theſe were the Sentiments that have procured the ſoreſt Affliction, and moſt laſting infamy that ever befel this Country, and moſt like ſo to do again, if the ſame notions be ſtill entertain'd and finally that theſe are thoſe laſt times, of which the Spirit ſpeaks expreſſly, *Tim.* iv. 1. *And now ye that are Fathers in the Churches, Guides to the People, and the Salt of the Earth.*

I beſeech you conſider theſe things; and if you find the Glory of God diminiſht by aſcribing ſuch power to Witches and Devils; His truths oppoſ'd by theſe notions; and his People aſperſed in their Doctrines and Reputations, and indangered in their Lives; I dare not dictate to you, you know your duty as Watchmen, and the Lord be with you.

But if you find my belief contrary to ſound Doctrine, I intreat you to ſhew it me by the Scripture; And in the mean time blame me not if I cannot believe that there are ſeveral Almighties; for to do all ſorts of wonders, beyond

and above the Courſe of Nature, is certainly the work of *Omnipotency*. So alſo, he that ſhall Commiſſionate or Impower to theſe, muſt alſo be Almighty; and I think it not a ſufficient *ſalvo*, to ſay they may be reſtrain'd by the moſt High; and hope you will not put any hard Conſtruction on theſe my Endeavours to get information (all other ways failing) in things ſo needful to be known; praying the Almightys Guidance and protection, I am

Yours to the utmoſt of my Power,

R. C.

[38] Boſton, *Sept. the* 20*th*, 1695.

Mr. *Samuel Willard.*

Reverend Sir,

MY former of *March* the 18th. directed to the Miniſters (and which was lodg'd with yourſelf) containing ſeveral Articles, which I ſent as my belief, praying them if I erred to ſhew it me by Scripture, I have as yet had no Anſwer to, either by word or writing, which makes me gather that they are approved of as *Orthodox*, or at leaſt that they have ſuch Foundations, as that none are willing to manifeſt any oppoſition to them: And therefore with ſubmiſſion, *&c.* I think that that late ſeaſonable and well-deſign'd Dialogue intituled, *Some miſcellany Obſervations*,[60] *&c.* of which yourſelf is the

[60] The Suppoſition was correct. There was an Edition of the Work referred to, printed in Philadelphia in 1692, in a ſmall Quarto of 16 Pages.

ſuppoſ'd Author (and which was ſo ſerviceable in the time of it) is yet liable to a male conſtruction, even to the endangering to revive what it moſt oppoſes, and to bring thoſe practices again on Foot, which in the day thereof were ſo terrible to this whole Countrey: The words which I ſuppoſe ſo liable to Miſconſtruction, are *pag.* 14. B. *Who informed them?* S. *the Spectre.* B. *very good, and that's the Devil turned Informer. How are good Men like to fare againſt whom he hath particular Malice!*

It is but a Preſumption, and Wiſe Men will weigh Preſumptions againſt Preſumptions. There is to be no Examination without grounds of Suſpicion. Some Perſons Credit ought to be accounted too good to be undermined ſo far as to be ſuſpected on ſo ſlight a ground: and it is an Injury done them to bring them upon Examination, which renders them openly Suſpected. I will not deny but for Perſons already ſuſpected and of Ill fame, it may occaſion their

Upon this Letter and the Work of Mr. Willard Dr. Mather remarks, evidently under great Excitement and Indignation as reſpects the Former: "I remember that when this miſerable Man ſent unto an eminent Miniſter in the Town, a *Libellous Letter*, reflecting both on a Judicious Diſcourſe written by *him*, and on the Holy Propoſals made by the Præſident and Fellows of *Harvard-College*, about *recording of Remarkable Providences*, and when he demanded and expected an Anſwer to his Follies, that Reverend Perſon only ſaid *Go tell him That the Anſwer to him and his Letter is in the Twenty Sixth of the* Proverbs, *and the Fourth.*"

Mr. Willard's Silence was undoubtedly owing to a very different Cauſe than that given by Dr. Mather. It is fairly inferable that Mr. Willard was too good a Logician not to ſee that Mr. Calef's Argument did not admit of Refutation, and that his own Reputation would be beſt conſerved by Silence.

being examin'd. In which theſe words ('tis but a preſumption, *&c.*) (and ſome Perſons credit, *&c.*) (and I will not deny but for Perſons already ſuſpected, *&c.*) this I take to be waving to diſcuſs thoſe points, the ſpeaking to which might at that time have hindered the uſefulneſs and ſucceſs of that Book, rather than any declaring the Sentiments of the Author. But notwithſtanding many Perſons will be ready to underſtand this, as if the Author did wholly leave it with the Juſtice, to Judge who are Ill Perſons, ſuch as the Devils Accuſations may faſten upon; And that the Devils Accuſation of a Perſon, is a Preſumption againſt them of their guilt; and that upon ſuch preſumptions, they may be had to Examination, if the Juſtice counts them Perſons of ill fame (for the Author I ſuppoſe knows that the bear Examination will leave ſuch a ſtain upon them, and well if their Poſterity eſcape it!) as the length of a Holy and unblameable Life will be found too ſhort to Extirpate. And if the Juſtice may go thus far with the Devils Evidence, then the addition of a ſtory or two of ſome Cart overſet, or perſon taken Sick after a quarrel, might as well be thought ſufficient for their Commitment, in order to [39] their Tryal as 'tis call'd (tho' this too often has been more like a Stage Play, or a *Tragicomical Scene*) and ſo that other ways uſeful Book, may prove the greateſt Snare to revive the ſame practices again.

Theſe things being ſo liable, as I ſaid, to ſuch

male-conſtruction, it were needful that Men might be undeceiv'd, and the matter more fully demonſtrated, (*Viz.*) That the Devils Accuſation is not ſo much as any preſumption againſt the Life or Reputation of any perſon, for how are good Men like to fare, if his malicious accuſations may be taken as a preſumption of their Guilt; and that his accuſations as they are no preſumption againſt perſons of unſpotted Fame, ſo neither are to be heard, or any ways regarded againſt perſons tho' otherways of ill Life, much leſs for their having long ſince had their Names abuſed by his outcries, or by the Malice of Ill Neighbours; and that Juſtice knows no difference of Perſons; that if this Evidence be ſufficient to bring one perſon 'tis ſo to bring any other to Examination, and conſequently to the utmoſt extent of odium, which ſuch Examination will certainly expoſe them to, for who can know any other, but that as the one may be Maliciouſly accuſed by Devils and a Deviliſh report gone before it; ſo that another who has not been ſo much as accuſed before, being more Cunning or more ſeeming Religious, might yet be more guilty; the whole depending upon Inviſible Evidence, of which Inviſible ſtuff, tho' we have had more than ſufficient, yet I find (among other Reverend Perſons) your Names to a certain Printed Paper, which runs thus.

Certain Propoſals[61] *made by the Preſident and Fellows of* Harvard *College, to the Reverend Miniſters of the Goſpel, in the ſeveral Churches of* New-England.

Firſt. To obſerve and record the more Illuſtrious Diſcoveries of the Divine Providence in the Government of the World, is a deſign ſo holy, ſo uſeful, ſo juſtly approved, that the too general neglect of it in the Churches of God, is as juſtly to be Lamented.

2. *For the redreſs of that neglect, altho' all Chriſtians have a Duty incumbent on them, yet it is in a peculiar manner to be recommended unto the Miniſters of the* Goſpel, *to improve the ſpecial advantages which are in their Hands, to obtain and preſerve the knowledge of ſuch notable occurrences as are ſought out by all that have pleaſure in the great Works of the Lord.*

3. *The things to be eſteemed Memorable, are ſpecially all unuſual accidents in the Heaven, or Earth,*

[61] Concerning this curious Paper, Quincy, in *Hiſt. Harvard College*, remarks: "As the Belief in the Agency of the Inviſible World began to leſſen, and ſome of thoſe, who were the chief Actors in the Tragedy, to feel the Weight of public Indignation preſſing upon them, they being Members of the Corporation, brought this Body into the Field for the Purpoſe of giving Countenance to that Belief, and of ſuſtaining this decaying Faith." This was "prepared by both the Mathers, and ſigned by the whole Board, and circulated throughout New England."—Vol. I, *Page* 62. The Signers will all be found duly noticed in Dr. Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*.

or Water, All wonderful Deliverances of the Diſtreſſed, Mercies to the Godly, Judgments on the Wicked, and more Glorious fulfilments of either the Promiſes or Threatnings in the Scriptures of Truth, with Apparitions, Poſſeſſions, Enchantments, and all extraordinary things, wherein the Exiſtence and Agency of the Inviſible World is more ſenſibly demonſtrated.

[40] 4. *It is therefore Propoſed, That the Miniſters throughout this Land, would manifeſt their regards unto the Works of the Lord, and the Opperation of his hands, by reviving their cares to take Written Accounts of ſuch* Remarkables: *But ſtill well Atteſted with credibled and ſufficient Witneſs.*

5. *It is deſired that the Accounts, thus taken of theſe Remarkables, may be ſent in unto the* Preſident,[62] *or the* Fellows *of the Colledge, by whome they ſhall be carefully reſerved for ſuch a uſe to be made of them, as may by ſome fit Aſſembly of Miniſters be Judged moſt conducing to the Glory of God, and the Service of his People.*

6. *Tho' we doubt not, that love to the Name of God will be motive enough unto all good Men, to Contribute what Aſſiſtance they can unto this Undertaking; yet for further Incouragement, ſome ſingular Marks of Reſpects ſhall be ſtudied for ſuch good Men, as will actually aſſiſt it, by taking pains to*

[62] It will be remembered that the Preſident (Mather) had publiſhed a Volume of *Remarkable Providences*, which, doubtleſs, met with a ready Sale, and induced a Deſire for another.

Communicate any Important Paſſages proper to be inſerted in this Collection.

Increaſe Mather, Preſident.
James Allen,
Char. Morton,
Sam. Willard,
Cotton Mather, Fellows.
John Leverett,
Will. Brattle,
Neh. Walter,

Cambr. March 5, 169$\frac{3}{4}$

Here being an Encouragement to all good Men, to ſend in ſuch remarkables as are therein expreſſed, I have ſent the following, not that I think them a more ſenſible demonſtration of the being of a future State (with Rewards and Puniſhments) or of Angels good and bad, *&c.* than the Scriptures of truth hold forth, *&c.* Or than any of thoſe other demonſtrations God hath given us; for this were Treacherouſly and Perfidiouſly to quit the Poſt to the Enemy, the *Sadducee*, *Deiſt*, and *Atheiſt* would hereby be put in a condition ſo Triumphantly to deny the Exiſtence and Agency thereof. As that a few Stories told (which at beſt muſt be owned to be fallible and liable to miſrepreſentations) could not be thought Infallibly ſufficient to demonſtrate the truth againſt them. I have heard that in Logick a falſe Argument is reckon'd much worſe than none: Yet ſuppoſing that a Collection of In-

ſtances may be many ways uſeful, not only to the preſent but ſucceeding Ages, I have ſent you the following remarkables, which have lately occurred, the certainty of which, if any ſcruple it, will be found no hard matter to get ſatisfaction therein: But here, not to inſiſt on thoſe leſs occurrents, as the ſudden Death of one of our late Juſtices,[63] and a like Mortallity that fell upon the two Sons of another of them, with the Fall of a Man that was making proviſion to raiſe the New Northern Bell, which, when it was up, the firſt perſon, whoſe death it was to ſignifie, was ſaid to be a Child of him, who by Printing and ſpeaking, had had as great hand in procur[41]ing the late Actions as any, if not the greateſt; and the Splitting the Gun at *Salem*, where that furious Marſhal, and his Father, *&c.* was rent to pieces,[64] *&c.* As to all theſe it muſt be owned, that no man knows love or hatred by all that is before him, much leſs can they be more ſenſible demonſtrations of the Exiſtence or Agency of the *Inviſible World*, than the ſcriptures of Truth afford, *&c.*

63 To which of the Juſtices the Author refers is not certain, as Mr. Danforth and Mr. Saltonſtall, two of them, were dead when he wrote. The Latter died in 1694, and the Former in 1699.

64 "That furious Marſhal" was *George Herrick*, who, in October, 1692, ſtated, that "for nine Months his whole Time had been conſumed as Marſhal and Deputy Sheriff, in Caſes of Witchcraft."—Felt, *Annals of Salem*, ii, 480. The Death of George Herrick is noticed in the Herrick Genealogy, as having occurred in 1695, but nothing is ſaid of any Caſualty. Mr. Savage ſuppoſes Him to be the ſame who came over in 1685, in the Ship with John Dunton, who, John ſays ſaved his Life at Sea.—*Life and Errors*, 126-7.

tho' the Rich Man in the Parable might think otherwiſe, *&c.* who was ſeeking to ſend ſome more ſenſible Demonſtrations thereof to his Brethren, *&c.* In that Tremendous Judgment of God upon this Countrey, by the late amazing Proſecution of the People here, under the Notion of Witches; whereby 20 Suffered as Evil doers (beſides thoſe that died in Priſon) about ten more Condemned, and a hundred Impriſoned, and about two hundred more Accuſed, and the Countrey generally in fears, when it would come to their turn to be Accuſed; and the Proſecution and manner of Tryal ſuch, that moſt would have choſen to have fallen into the hands of the Barbarous Enemy, rather than (under that notion) into the hands of their Brethren in Church Fellowſhip; and in ſhort, was ſuch an Affliction as far exceeded all that ever this Countrey hath laboured under.

Yet in this Mount, God is ſeen; when it was thus bad with this diſtreſſed People, a full and a ſudden ſtop is put, not only without, but againſt the Inclination of many, for out of the Eater came forth Meat: Thoſe very Accuſers which had been improved as Witneſſes againſt ſo many, by the Providence of the moſt High, and perhaps blinded with Malice, are left to accuſe thoſe in moſt High eſteem, both Magiſtrates and Miniſters, as guilty of Witchcraft, which ſhewed our Rulers, that neceſſity lay upon them, to confound that which had ſo long confounded the Countrey,

as being unwilling themſelves to run the ſame Riſque, this that was in the Event of it to this Countrey, as Life from the Dead, is moſt eaſie with him, in whoſe Hands are the Hearts of all Men, and was a very ſignal deliverance to this whole Countrey. No leſs Obſervable was it, that tho' at the time when the Devils Teſtimony, by the Afflicted, was firſt laid aſide, there were great Numbers of (real or pretended) Afflicted: Yet when this was once not Judged of Validity enough to be any longer brought into the Court againſt the Accuſed as Evidence, the Affliction generally ceaſed, and only ſome remainders of it in ſuch places, where more Encouragement was given to the Actors, God ſeeming thereby plainly to Decipher that Sin of going to the Devil, *&c.* as the riſe and foundation of thoſe Puniſhments.

And thus, Reverend Sir, I have, as I underſtand it, performed my Duty herein, for the Glory of God, and the well-being of Men. And for my Freedome uſed in this, and former Writings, relating to the Actors in this Tragedy, I ſhall not Apologize, but give you the words of one to [42] whom ſome can afford the title of Venerable (when he is arguing for that which they have undertaken to aſcert, tho' at other times, more Diminutive Epithete, muſt ſerve) it is the Reverend Mr. R. *Baxter* in his Book, *the Cure of Church Diviſions*, p. 257, 258. *But* (I pray you mark it) *the way of God is to ſhame the Sinner, how good ſoever in other reſpects,*

That the ſin may have the greater ſhame, and Religion may not be ſhamed, as if it allowed men to ſin; Nor God the Author of Religion he Diſhonoured; Nor others be without the Warning; But the way of the Devil is, to hide or juſtifie the ſin, as if it were for fear of Diſparaging the goodneſs of the Perſons that committed it; that ſo he may hereby Diſhonour Religion and Godlineſs itſelf, and make men believe it is but a Cover for any Wickedneſs, and as conſiſtent with it, as a looſer Life is, and that he may keep the Sinner from Repenting, and blot out the Memory of that warning, which ſhould have preſerved After-Ages from the like falls. Scripture ſhameth the Profeſſors, (*tho' a* David, *a* Solomon, Peter, Noah, *or* Lot) *that the Religion profeſt may not be ſhamed but vindicated: Satan would preſerve the Honour of Profeſſors, that the Religion profeſſed may bear the ſhame; and ſo it may fall on God himſelf.*

And now that all that have had a hand in any horrid and bloody practices may be brought to give glory to God, and take the due ſhame to themſelves; and that our Watchmen may no longer ſeek to palliate (much leſs give thanks for) ſuch, *&c.* (thereby making them their own) and that the people may no longer periſh for want of knowledge in the midſt of ſuch means of light; Nor God be any longer diſhonoured by falſe ſentiments in theſe matters, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of, Sir, yours to my power.

R. C.

Mr. Cotton Mather.

Reverend Sir,

HAVING long ſince ſent you ſome doctrinals as to my belief, together with my requeſt to you, that if I erred you would be pleaſed to ſhew it me by ſcripture, *viz.* That the Devils bounds are ſet which he cannot paſs; That the Devils are ſo full of malice that it cannot be added to by mankind; That where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it; That 'tis only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can commiſſionate him to hurt and deſtroy, *&c.* But inſtead of ſuch an Anſwer as was promiſed, and juſtly expected, you were pleaſed to ſend me a Book, which you ſince call'd an ungainſayable one; which Book till lately I have not had opportunity ſo fully to conſider. And to the end you may ſee I have now done it, I have ſent to you ſome of the remarkables contained in the ſaid Book, Intituled,

[43] *The Certainty of the World of Spirits, written by Mr.* R. B.[65] London, *Printed.* 1691.

IT *is therein conceded* (Preface) That to ſee Devils and Spirits ordinarily would not be enough to convince Atheiſts. Page 88. Atheiſts are not to

[65] Richard Baxter. William Bates, D.D., preached an excellent Sermon on the Death of the great Divine, and gives an Account of

be convinced by ſtories, their own ſenſes are not enough to convince them any more than ſenſe will convince a Papiſt from Tranſubſtantiation. (*D. Laderd.*) P. 4. No Spirit can do any thing but by God's will and permiſſion. (*Preface*) 'Tis the free will of Man that gives the Devils their hurting power: And without our own conſent they cannot hurt us. (*It is aſſerted.* P. 222, 223,) That it is a perverſe oppoſition of Popery which cauſes many Proteſtants not to regard the benefits we receive by Angels. And Miniſters are faulty, that do not pray and give thanks to God for their Miniſtry; and that neglect to teach Believers, what love and what thanks they owe to Angels. P. 225. Moſt good people look ſo much to God and to Miniſters, that they take little notice of Angels, which are God's great Miniſters. P. 234. The Author dares not, as ſome have done, judge the Catholick Church to become Anti-Chriſtian Idolaters, as ſoon as they gave too much Worſhip to Saints and Angels. P. 7. The Bleſſed Souls ſhall be like the Angels, therefore may appear

his Books, but ſays nothing of that whoſe Title is given above; doubtleſs for the ſame Reaſon mentioned by our Author, namely: that it was written or aſſented to by him in his Dotage. Dr. Bates was a Friend and Acquaintance of Dr. Increaſe Mather. In his Sermon, above cited, he ſays: "I went to Mr. Baxter with a very worthy Friend, Mr. Mather, of New England, the Day before he died; and, ſpeaking ſome comforting Words to him, he replied, 'I have Pain; there is no arguing againſt Senſe; but I have Peace.' To Mr. Mather, he ſaid, 'I bleſs God that you have accompliſht your Buſineſs, the Lord prolong your Life.'"—*Page* 129-30. See Page 11 of this Volume for the Author's ſenſible Remarks on Mr. Baxter's Book.

here, P. 3, 4. 'Tis hard to know whether it be a Devil or a human Soul that appears, or whether the Soul of a good or a bad perſon. P. 61. or the Soul of ſome dead friend that ſuffers, and yet retains love, *&c.* P. 222. No doubt the Souls of the wicked carry with them their former inclinations of Covetouſneſs, Revenge, *&c.* P. 7. When Revengeful things are done, as on Murderers, Defrauders, *&c.* it ſeems to be from the revengeful wrath of ſome bad Soul, if it be about Money or Lands, then from a Worldly minded one; ſome ſignifications of God's mercy to wicked Souls after this Life. P. 4. 'Tis a doubt whether beſides the Angels (good and bad) and the Souls of men, there is not a third ſort, call'd Faries and Goblins. It is unſearchable to us how far God leaves Spirits to freewill in ſmall things, ſuſpending his predetermining motion.

P. 246. The Devils have a Marvellous power, if but a ſilly wretched Witch conſent. P. 10. 202. The ſtories of Witches and Spirits are many ways uſeful, particularly to convince Atheiſts, and confirm Believers, and to prove the Operation of Spirits. P. 232. To help men to underſtand that Devils make no ſmall number of Laws, and Rulers in the World, and are Authors of moſt of the Wars, and of many Sermons, and of Books that adorn the Liberaries of learned men. P. 6. 102. The Devil's lying with the Witch is not to be denied, and is more to Exerciſe the Luſt of the Witch than of the Devil, who can alſo bring in

another Witch with[44]out opening the door, and ſo perform it by one Witch with another. P. 105. Witches can raiſe Storms, ſell Winds, *&c.* as is commonly affirmed. P. 107. In *America* 'tis a common thing to ſee Spirits day and night. P. 95, 96, 97, 110. Stories of a Child that could not be cured of Witchcraft, becauſe the *Ember*[66]-weeks were paſt, Vomited a Knife a ſpan long, Cart Nails, *&c.* neither eat nor drank fifteen days and nights together; a long piece of Wood, four Knives, and two ſharp pieces of Iron, ev'ry one above a ſpan long, taken out of the Stomach, *&c.* Hair, Stones, Bones, Vomited, *&c.* 1000 l. of Blood loſt by one perſon in a years time.

P. 250. A ſtory that makes the Author think it poſſible that ſuch great things (as he mentions) ſhould be gotten down and up Peoples Throats.

P. 164. Partial credibility ſpoils many a good ſtory.

P. 125. The Devil's ſubſtance enters into the poſſeſſed.

P. 174. Diſtracted are poſſeſſed.

[66] The Days of certain Weeks ſet apart by the Roman Catholic Church for Faſting and Prayer, in the four Seaſons of the Year. Wedneſday, Friday and Saturday after the firſt Sunday in Lent, the Feaſt of Whitſuntide, the 14th of September, and the 13th of December, are the *Ember-days;* and the Weeks in which they occur are *Ember-weeks.* "Ember-days were ſo called, from the Word Ember, *i. e.*, Aſhes; becauſe in old Times the Fathers uſ'd to ſprinkle themſelves with Aſhes; or from the Cuſtom of eating nothing on thoſe Days till Night, and then only a Cake, baked under the *Embers,* which was thence called *Ember-bread.*"—*Phillips and Kerſey.*

P. 149. A ſick Woman while ſhe lay in bed went to ſee her Children.

P. 153. A Dog appeared like a Fly or a Flea.

P. 165. Some knowing Agents directs Thunder ſtorms, tho' the Author knows not who, and that they ſo often fall on Churches he knows not why.

P. 2, 80. Mr. *J. M.* and Mr. *C. M.* Recommended together with *Bodin, &c.*

P. 237. A *Criſpian,* if through Ignorance he believes not what he ſaith, may be a Chriſtian.

In this, Sir, I ſuppoſe that if I have not wronged the ſenſe of the Author in the places quoted (which I truſt you ſhall not find I have done) I can't be thought accountable for the Errors or Contradictions to himſelf or to the truth, if any ſuch be found, particularly what he grants in the Preface (of the freewill of Man, giving the Devil his hurting power.) This being not only more than thoſe call'd Witch-Advocates would deſire to be conceded to them: But is a palpable and manifeſt overturning the Authors deſign in all his Witch ſtories. For who would conſent to have the Devil afflict himſelf? As alſo his conceſſion [that no Spirit can do any thing but by God's will and permiſſion,] I cannot perſwade myſelf but you muſt be ſenſible of their apparent contradictorineſs to the reſt. Others there are of a very ill aſpect, as *p.* 234. the Catholicks are much encouraged in their Adoration of Angels and Saints. If that were ſo Innocent as not to render them Anti-chriſtian Idolaters; and that *p.* 4. if

admitted, will ſeem to lay an ungainſayable foundation for the *Pagan*, *Indian*, and *Diaboliſts* Faith; by telling us it is beyond our ſearch to know how far God leaves the Devils to free-will, to do what they pleaſe, in this World, with a ſuſpenſion of God's Predetermination; which if it [45] were a truth, what were more rational than to oblige him that has ſuch power over us. The Atheiſts alſo would take encouragement if it were granted that we cannot know how far God ſuſpends his predetermining motion, he would thence affirm, we as little know that there is a predetermining motion, and conſequently whether there be a God, and *p.* 165. would abundantly ſtrengthen them, when ſuch a Learned, experienced, and highly eſteemed Chriſtian ſhall own that he knows not who 'tis that governs the Thunder-ſtorms; for it might as well diſcover ignorance, who 'tis that diſpoſes of Earthquakes, Gun-ſhot, and afflictions that befall any, with the reſt of Mundane Events. I deſign not to remark all that in the Book is remarkable, ſuch as the departed Souls wandering again hither to put men upon revenge, *&c.* ſavouring ſo much of *Pithagoras* his Tranſmigration of Souls, and the Separation of the Soul from the Body without death, as in the caſe of her that went to ſee her Children, while yet ſhe did not ſtir out of her Bed, which ſeems to be a new ſpeculation; unleſs it determins in favour of Tranſubſtantiation, that a Body may be at the ſame time in ſeveral places. Upon the

whole it is ungainſayable, That that Book, though ſo highly extol'd, may be juſtly expected to occaſion the ſtaggering of the weak, and the hardening of unbelievers in their Infidelity. And it ſeems amazing, that you ſhould not only give it ſuch a recommend, but that you ſhould ſend it to me, in order (as I take it) to pervert me from the belief of thoſe fundamental Doctrinals (above recited) Though I account them more firm than Heaven and Earth. But that which is yet more ſtrange to me, is that Mr. *B* his Friends did not adviſe him better, than in his declined Age to emit ſuch crude matter to the public. As to the ſometime Reverend Author, let his works praiſe the Remembrance of him; but for ſuch as are either Erroneous and foiſted upon him, or the effect of an aged Imbecillity, let them be detected that they may proceed no further.[67]

I am not ignorant that the manner of Education of Youth in, I think, almoſt all Chriſtian Schools hath a natural tendency to propagate thoſe Doctrines of Devils heretofore (ſolely) profeſt among *Ethnicks*,[68] and particularly in matters of Witchcraft, *&c.* For notwithſtanding the Council of *Carthage* their taking notice that the Chriſtian Doctors did converſe much with the writings of the Heathens for the gaining of Eloquence, forbad the reading of the Books of the

[67] See Note 61.

[68] The *Ethnics* or *Ethnicks*. The Gentiles of ancient Times were denominated *Ethnics*. All Unbelievers in the Religion of the Jews and Chriſtians.

Gentiles; yet it ſeems this was only a Bill without a penalty, which their ſucceſſors did not look upon to be binding. He that ſhould in this age take a view of the Schools, might be induced to believe that the ages ſince have thought, that without ſuch Heathen Learning a man cannot be ſo accompliſh'd, as to have any pretence to Academick Literature: and that the vulgar might not be without the benefit of ſuch Learning, ſome of their Diſ[46]ciples have taught them to ſpeak *Engliſh*, which has given me the opportunity to ſend you theſe following Verſes.

Virg. Bucolicks. Eclog. 13.—
Sure love is not the cauſe their bones appear.
Some eyes bewitch my tender Lambs I fear.
For me theſe Herbs in Pontus Maris *choſe.*

Eclog. 8.—
There ev'ry powerful Drug in plenty grows;
Transform'd to a Wolf, I often Mæris *ſaw,*
Then into ſhady Woods himſelf withdraw:
Oft he from deepeſt Sepulchers would Charm
Departed Souls. And from anothers Farm,
Into his own ground Corn yet ſtanding take.
Now from the Town my Charms bring Daphnis *back.*
Vanquiſht with charms from Heaven the Moon Deſcends.
Circe *with charms transform'd* Ulyſſes *friends:*
Charms in the Field will burſt a Poyſonous Snake,
Now from the Town, &c.

Ovid's Metamorphoſis. Lib. 7.
Her Arms thrice turns about, thrice wets her crown
With gather'd dew, thrice yawns, and kneeling down;
Oh Night! thou friend to ſecrets you clear fires,
That with the Moon ſucceed when day retires.
Great Hecate, *thou know'ſt and aid Imparts,*

To our deſign, your Charms and Magick Arts:
And thou, oh Earth, that to Magicians yields
Thy powerful ſimples: Airs, Winds, Mountains, Fields,
Soft murmuring Springs, ſtill Lakes and Rivers clear,
You Gods of Woods, you Gods of night appear;
By you at will, I make ſwift Streams retire,
To their firſt Fountain, while their Banks admire.
Seas toſs and ſmooth; clear Clouds with Clouds deform,
Storms turn to Calms, and make a Calm a Storm.
With Spells and Charms, I break the Vipers Jaws,
Cleave ſolid Rocks, Oaks from their fiſures draw;
Whole Woods remove, the Airy Mountains ſhake;
Earth forc'd to groan, and Ghoſts from Graves awake.
——— *her Journey takes,*

Lib. 14. *To* Rhegium *oppoſite to* Zanle's *ſhore,*
And treads the troubled Waves, that loudly roar;
Running with unwet Feet on that profound,
As if Sh' had trod upon the ſolid ground.
[47] *This with portentous poyſon ſhe pollutes,*
Beſprinkled with the juice of wicked roots,
In words dark, and perplext nine times thrice,
Inchantments mutters with her wicked voice, &c.

Theſe Fables of the Heathens (tho' in themſelves of no more validity than the idle Tales of an *Indian*, or the Diſcourſes of a known Romancer) are become the School-learning, not to ſay the Faith of Chriſtians, and are the Scriptures brought (inſtead of that moſt ſure Word) if not to prove Doctrine, yet as illuſtrations thereof. Caſes of Conſcience concerning Witch *pag.* 25. Remarkable Providences *pag.* 250. (This per-

haps might be the cauſe that in *England* a people otherways ſober and Religious) have for ſome Ages (in a manner wholly) refuſed admitting thoſe ſo educated to the work of the Miniſtry. Such education and practice, have ſo far prevailed that it has been a means of corrupting the Chriſtian world, almoſt to that degree as to be ungainſayable; for tho' there is Reaſon to hope that theſe Diabolical principles have not ſo prevail'd (with multitudes of Chriſtians) as that they aſcribe to a Witch and a Devil the Attributes peculiar to the Almighty; yet how few are willing to be found oppoſing ſuch a torrent, as knowing that in ſo doing they ſhall be ſure to meet with oppoſition to the utmoſt, from the many, both of Magiſtrates, Miniſters and People; and the name of *Sadducee*, *Atheiſt*, and perhaps Witch too caſt upon them moſt liberally, by men of the higheſt profeſſion in Godlineſs. And if not ſo learned as ſome of themſelves, then accounted only fit to be trampled on, and their Arguments (tho both Rational and Scriptural) as fit only for contempt. But tho this be the deplorable Dilemma; yet ſome have dared from time to time (for the glory of God, and the good and ſafety of Mens lives, *&c.*) to run all theſe Riſques. And that God who has ſaid, *My glory I will not give to another*, is able to protect thoſe that are found doing their duty herein againſt all oppoſers; and however other ways contemptible can make them uſeful in his own hand, who has ſometimes choſen the

weakeſt Inſtruments, that his power may be the more Illuſtrious.

And now, Reverend Sir, if you are conſcious to yourſelf, that you have in your principles, or practices been abetting to ſuch grand Errors, I cannot ſee how it can conſiſt with ſincerity to be ſo convinc'd in matters ſo nearly relating to the glory of God, and lives of Innocents; and at the ſame time ſo much to fear diſparagement among Men, as to ſtifle Conſcience, and diſſemble an approving of former ſentiments; you know that word, he that honoureth me I will honour, and he that deſpiſeth me ſhall be lightly eſteemed. *But if you think that in theſe matters you have done your duty, and taught people theirs; and that the Doctrines cited from the mentioned* [48] *Book are ungainſayable: I ſhall conclude in almoſt his words, He that teaches ſuch Doctrine, if through Ignorance he believes not what he ſaith, may be a Chriſtian: But if he believes them, he is in the broad path to Heatheniſm, Deviliſm, Popery or Atheiſm. It is a ſolemn caution, Gal.* i. 8. But tho we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Goſpel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed. *I hope you will not miſconſtrue my Intentions herein, who am, Reverend Sir, Yours to command, in what I may,* R. C.

To the Miniſters in and near *Boſton, January* 12, 1696.

i. e. 1697 of our calendar

CHRISTIANITY *had been but a ſhort time in the World, when there was raiſed againſt it, not only open profeſt Enemies; but ſecret and imbred underminers, who ſought thereby to effect that which open force had been ſo often baffled in.*

And notwithſtanding that primitive purity and ſincerity, which in some good meaſure was ſtill retained; yet the cunning deceivers and Apoſtate Hereticks found opportunity to beguile the unwary, and this in fundamentals.

Among others which then ſprung up, with but too much advantage in the third Century, the Maniche[68] *did ſpread his Peſtiferous ſentiments, and taught the Exiſtence of two Beings, or Cauſes of all things, viz. a good and a bad: but theſe were ſoon ſilenced by the more Orthodox Doctors, and Anathematized by General Councels. And at this day the American Indians, another ſort of* Maniche, *entertaining (thus far) the ſame belief, hold it their prudence and intereſt to pleaſe that evil Being, as well by perpetrating other Murders, as by their Bloody Sacrifices, that ſo he may not harm them. The Iron teeth of time have now almoſt devoured the name of*

[68] A Sect of Philoſophers who took their Name from a Perſon named *Manichæus*, or Manes. Manes flouriſhed about A. D. 277, and his Doctrine or Philoſophy ſpread chiefly in Arabia, Egypt and Africa. He taught that Light was the Origin of all Good, and that in Darkneſs originated all Evil. *Maniche* is not unlike *God* among the Indians.

the former, and as to the latter, it is to be hoped that as Chriſtianity prevails among them, they will abhor ſuch abominable belief.[69]

And as thoſe primitive times, were not priviledged againſt the ſpreading of dangerous Hereſie, ſo neither can any now pretend to any ſuch Immunity, tho' profeſſing the enjoyment of a primitive purity.

Might a Judgment be made from the Books of the modern learned Divines, or from the practice of Courts, or from the Faith of many, who call themſelves Chriſtians, it might be modeſtly, tho' ſadly concluded, that the Doctrine of the Maniche, *at leaſt great part of it, is ſo far from being forgotten that 'tis almoſt every where profeſt. We in theſe ends of the Earth need not ſeek far for Inſtances, in each reſpect to demonſtrate this. The Books here Printed, and recommended not only by the reſpective Authors, but by many of their Brethren, do ſet forth that the Devil inflicts Plagues,*[a] Wars,[b] Diſeaſes,[c] Tempeſts[d] and can render the moſt ſolid things inviſible,[e] and can do things above and againſt the courſe of Nature, and all natural cauſes.

[49] *Are theſe the Expreſſions of Orthodox believers? or are they not rather expreſſions becoming a* Maniche, *or a* Heathen, *as agreeing far better*

[69] Had the Author lived to this Time he would have ſeen that his Hopes were much further from being realized than he could have anticipated. Many Years ago, a noted Indian Chief, on being importuned reſpecting Chriſtianity, and urged to adopt it in his Tribe, replied that "It might do for White People, but it did not suit Indians."

[a] Wonders of the Inviſible World, p. 17, 18. [b] p. 18. [c] Caſes of Conſcience, p. 63. [d] Remarkable providences, p. 124. [e] Wonders of the Inviſible World, p. 141.— *Notes in the Original.*

with theſe than with the ſacred Oracles our only rule; the whole current whereof is ſo Diametrically oppoſite thereto, that it were almoſt endleſs to mention all the Divine cautions againſt ſuch abominable belief; he that runs may read, Pſal. lxii. 11, *and* cxxxvi. 4. Lam. iii. 37. Amos iii. 6. Jer. iv. 22. Pſal. lxxviii. 26, *and* clxviii. 6. 8. Job xxxviii. 22. to the 34 v.

Theſe places with a multitude more, do abundantly teſtifie that the Aſſertors of ſuch power to be in the evil Being, do ſpeak in a dialect different from the ſcriptures, (laying a firm foundation for the Indians adorations, which agrees well with what A. Roſs[70] *ſets forth, in his Miſtag. Poetic,* p. 116, *that their ancients did* ~~Uſurp~~ *the furies and their God* Averinci, *that they might forbear to hurt them.*)

And have not the Courts in ſome parts of the World by their practice teſtified their concurrence with ſuch belief, proſecuting to Death many people upon that notion, of their improving ſuch power of the Evil one, to the raiſing of Storms; afflicting and

[70] Alexander Roſs, a Scotchman, a very voluminous Author, though a Prelate and poſſeſſed of much and varied Learning, is meagrely noticed in Biographical Works. He continued Sir Walter Ralegh's Hiſtory of the World, in a large folio; wrote "a View of the Religions of the World;" "Virgilii Evangeliſantis Chriſtiados, Librii xiii," &c. little known. The Work referred to in the Text is entitled "Myſtagogus Poeticus, or the Muſe's Interpreter: Explaining the Hiſtorical Myſtteries, and Myſtical Hiſtories of the Ancient Greek and Latin Poets," &c. a fifth Edition of which was publiſhed in 1672. Notwithſtanding his immenſe literary Labours, he is unknown to Thouſands of the preſent Day, beyond thoſe *anachroniſmical* Lines in Hudibras:

"There was an ancient ſage Philoſopher
That had read Alexander Roſs over."

killing of others, tho at great diſtance from them; doing things in their own perſons above humane ſtrength, deſtroying of Cattle, flying in the Air, turning themſelves into Cats or Dogs, &c. *Which by the way muſt needs imply ſome thing of goodneſs to be in that evil Being, who, tho he has ſuch power, would not exert it, were it not for this people, or elſe that they can ſome way add to this mighty power.*[71]

And are the people a whit behind in their beliefs? is there any thing (abovementioned,) their ſtrong Faith looks upon to be too hard for this evil Being to effect?

Here it will be anſwered, God permits it. Which anſwer is ſo far an owning the Doctrine, that the Devil has in his nature a power to do all theſe things, and can exert this power, except when he is reſtrained, which is in effect to ſay that God has made Nature to fight againſt itſelf. That he has made a Creature, who has it in the power of his Nature to overthrow Nature, and to act above and

[71] Some Perſon once put into the Hands of the ſince famous James Howell a Manuſcript, attempting to diſprove the Exiſtence of Witches. In writing to his Friend, Sir Edward Spencer, ſoon after, Howell ſaid: "I will not ſay that this Gentleman is ſo perverſe; but to deny there are any Witches, to deny that there are not ill Spirits which ſeduce, tamper and converſe in divers Shapes with human Creatures, and impel them to Actions of Malice, I ſay, that he who denies there are ſuch buſy Spirits, and ſuch poor paſſive Creatures upon whom they work, which commonly are called Witches; I ſay again, that he who denies there are ſuch Spirits, ſhews that he himſelf hath a Spirit of Contradiction in him, oppoſing the current and conſentient Opinion of all Antiquity." James wrote this Nonſenſe in 1647. Moſt certainly if our Affairs are to be meaſured by the Laws and Uſages of Antiquity, all Advancement in Knowledge is a Crime; and inſtead of being tolerated, ſhould be prevented by the ſame ſanguinary Laws then in uſe. Fortunately ſome Improvement is diſcernible.

againſt it. Which he that can believe may as well believe the greateſt contradiction. That Being which can do this in the ſmalleſt thing, can do it in the greateſt. If Moſes *with a bare permiſſion might ſtretch forth his Rod, yet he was not able to bring Plagues upon the* Egyptians, *or to divide the Waters, without a Commiſſion from the moſt high; ſo neither can that evil Being perform any of this without a Commiſſion from the ſame power. The Scripture recites more Miracles wrought by Men than by Angels good and bad; Tho this Doctrine be ſo diſhonourable to the only Almighty Being, as to aſcribe ſuch Attributes to the Evil one, as are the Incommunicable prerogative of him, who is the alone Sovereign Being; yet here is not all: But as he that Steers by a falſe Compaſs, the further he Sails the more he is out of his way; ſo though there is in ſome things a variation* [50] *from, there is in others a further progreſſion in, or building upon the ſaid Doctrine of the Maniche.*

Men in this Age are not content barely to believe ſuch an exorbitant power to be in the nature of this evil Being; but have imagined that he prevails with many to ſign a Book, or make a contract with him, whereby they are inabled to perform all the things abovementioned. Another Account is given hereof, viz. that by vertue of ſuch a Covenant they attain power to Commiſſionate him. And though the two parties are not agreed which to put it upon, whether the Devil impowers the Witch, or the Witch commiſſionate him; yet both parties are agreed in

this, That one way or other the miſchief is effected, and ſo the Criminal becomes culpable of Death. In the ſearch after ſuch a ſort of Criminals, how many Countries have fallen into ſuch Convulſions. That the Devaſtations made by a Conquering Enemy, nor the Plague itſelf, has not been ſo formidable.

That not only good perſons have thus been blemiſh'd in their Reputations, but much innocent Blood hath been ſhed, is teſtified even by thoſe very Books, Caſes of Conſcience, *p.* 33. Remarkable provid. *p.* 179. Memor. provid. *p.* 28.

And (to add) what leſs can be expected, when Men having taken up ſuch a belief, of a covenanting, afflicting and killing Witch; and comparing it with the Scripture, finding no footſteps therein of ſuch a ſort of Witch, have thereupon deſperately concluded; that tho the Scripture is full in it, that a Witch ſhould not live; yet that it has not at all deſcribed the crime, nor means whereby the culpable might be detected.

And hence they are fallen ſo far as to reckon it neceſſary to make uſe of thoſe Diabolical and Bloody ways, always heretofore practiced for their Diſcovery. As finding that the Rules given to detect other crimes, are wholly uſeleſs for the Diſcovery of ſuch.

This is that which has produced that deluge of Blood mentioned, and muſt certainly do ſo again, the ſame belief remaining.

And who can wonder, if Chriſtians that are ſo

eaſily prevailed with to lay aſide their Swords as uſeleſs, and ſo have loſt their Strength (if with *Samſon*) they are led blindfold into an Idol Temple, to make ſport for Enemies and Infidels, and to do abominable actions, not only not Chriſtian, but againſt even the light of Nature and Reaſon. And now Reverend Fathers, you who are appointed as Guides to the People, and whoſe Lips ſhould preſerve Knowledge; who are ſet as Shepherds, and as Watchmen, this matter appertains to you. I did write to you formerly upon this head, and acquainted you with my Sentiments, requeſting that, if I erred, you would be pleaſed to ſhew it me by Scripture; but from your ſilence, I gather that you approve thereof. For I may reaſonably preſume, that you would have ſeen it your duty to have in[51]formed me better, if you had been ſenſible of any Error. But if in this matter you have acquitted yourſelves, becoming the Titles you are dignified with, you have cauſe of rejoicing in the midſt of the calamities that afflict a ſinning world.

Particularly, if you have taught the People to fear God, and truſt in him, and not to fear a Witch or a Devil. That the Devil has no power to afflict any with Diſeaſes, or loſs of Cattle, *&c.* without a Commiſſion from the moſt high. That he is ſo filled with malice, that whatever Commiſſion he may have againſt any, he will not fail to execute it. That no mortal ever was, or can be able to Commiſſionate him, or to lengthen his

Chain in the leaſt, and that he who can Commiſſionate him is God; and that the Scriptures of truth not only aſſign the puniſhment of a Witch; but give ſufficient Rules to detect them by, and that (according to Mr. *Gauls* fourth head,) a Witch is one that hates and oppoſes the word, work, and worſhip of God, and ſeeks by a ſign to ſeduce therefrom. That they who are guilty according to that head, are guilty of Witchcraft, and by the Law given by *Moſes*, were to be put to Death. If you have taught the People the neceſſity of Charity, and the evil of entertaining ſo much as a jealouſie againſt their Neighbours for ſuch crimes upon the Devils ſuggeſtions to a perſon pretending to a Spectral (or Diabolical) ſight; who utter their Oracles from Malice, frenſie, or a Satanical Deluſion; that to be inquiſitive of ſuch, whoſe Spectres they ſee, or who it is that afflicts? In order to put the accuſed perſons life in queſtion, is a wickedneſs beyond what *Saul* was guilty of in going to the Witch. That to conſult with the dead, by the help of ſuch as pretend to this Spectral ſight, and ſo to get Information againſt the life of any perſon, is the worſt ſort of Necromancy. That the pretending to drive away Spectres, *i. e.* Devils, with the hand, or by ſtriking theſe to wound a perſon at a diſtance, cannot be without Witchcraft, as pretending to aſſign in order to deceive in matters of ſo high a Nature. That 'tis Ridiculous to think by making laws againſt feeding, imploying, or re-

warding of evil Spirits, thereby to get rid of them. That their natures require not ſucking to ſupport it.

That it is a horrid Injury and Barbarity to ſearch thoſe parts, which even Nature itſelf commands the concealing of, to find ſome Excreſcence to be called a Tet for thoſe to ſuck; which yet is ſaid ſometimes to appear as a Fleabite. Finally if you have taught the People what to believe and practice, as to the probation of the Accuſed, by their ſaying, or not ſaying the Lord's Prayer; and as to praying that the Afflicted may be able to accuſe; And have not ſhunned in theſe matters to declare the whole mind of God; you have then well acquitted yourſelves (in time of General Defection) as faithful Watchmen. But if inſtead [52] of this, you have ſome by word and writing propagated; others recommended ſuch writings, and abetted the falſe Notions, which are ſo prevalent in this Apoſtate Age, it is high time to conſider it. If when Authority found themſelves almoſt nonpluſt in ſuch proſecutions, and ſent to you for your Advice what they ought to do, and you have then thanked them for what they had already done (and thereby encouraged them to proceed in thoſe very by Paths already fallen into) it ſo much the [more] nearly concerns you, *Ezek.* xxxiii. 2, to 8.

Caſes of Conſcience, ult.

(See Errata)

To conclude, this whole People are invited

and commanded to humble their Souls before God, as for other cauſes, ſo for the Errors that may have been fallen into in theſe proſecutions on either hand, and to pray that God would teach us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiſs, that we may do ſo no more.

Vid. *The Proclamation for a Faſt, to be the* 14 *Inſt. as ſet forth by Authority.*

This more immediately concerns yourſelves, for 'tis not ſuppoſed to be intended, that God would ſhew us theſe things by Inſpiration. But that ſuch who are called to it, ſhould ſhew the mind of God in theſe things on both hands; *i. e.* whether there has been any Error in Exceſs or Deficiency, or neither in the one nor the other. And if you do not thus far ſerve the publick you need not complain of great Sufferings and unrighteous Diſcouragements; if People do not applaude your conduct, as you might otherways have expected. But if you altogether hold your peace at ſuch a time as this is; your ſilence at leaſt ſeemingly will ſpeak this Language; that you are not concerned tho' Men aſcribe the power and providence of the Almighty to the worſt of his Creatures. That if other Ages or Countries improve the Doctrines and Examples given them, either to the taking away of the Life or Reputations of Innocents you are well ſatisfied. Which that there may be no ſhadow

Vid. *The Declaration, as drawn by the Deputies with the Aſſiſtance of the Miniſters; but receiv'd a Nonconcurrence.*

of a Reaſon to believe but that your conduct herein may remove all ſuch Jealouſies; and that God be with you in declaring his whole mind to the People, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of, Reverend Sirs,

Yours to my utmoſt,

R. C.

Mr. *Benjamin Wadſworth.*[73]

Reverend Sir,

AFTER that dreadful and ſevere Perſecution of ſuch a Multitude of People, under the notion of Witches, which in the day thereof, was the ſoreſt tryal and affliction that ever befel this Country. And after [53] many of the principal Actors had declared their fears and jealouſies, that they had greatly erred in thoſe Proſecutions. And after a Solemn day of Faſting had been kept, with Prayers that God would ſhew us what

[73] Mr. Wadſworth was Miniſter of the Firſt Church in Boſton from 1696 to 1725, when he became Preſident of Harvard College. He was Son of Capt. Samuel Wadſworth of Milton, who fell in the bloody Fight at Sudbury, April the 21ſt, 1676. And here it may be noted that Preſident Wadſworth, praiſeworthily and in filial Duty, erected a Monument to his father's Memory, at Sudbury, on the Site of the fierce Conflict, in which he ended his Life; but from ſome Cauſe eaſily explained, fixed the Date of his father's Death on April 18th; See *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.* for 1853, p. 221, where the Cauſe of the Error is explained. There has been a feeble Attempt to maintain the old Date, becauſe it happened ignorantly to be placed upon a new Monument which replaced the old One in 1852. This Attempt has been admitted into the Regiſter for 1866, page 135-141, as unaccountably as the Date on the New Monument.

Preſident Wadſworth, though a Believer in Witchcraft, did not encourage the Proceedings and Proſecutions.

we knew not; *viz.* what errors might therein have been fallen into, *&c.* And after moſt People were convinc'd of the Evil of ſome, if not of moſt of thoſe Actions. At ſuch a time as this it might have been juſtly expected that the Miniſters would make it their work to Explain the Scriptures to the People; and from thence to have ſhown them, the evil and danger of thoſe falſe Notions, which not only gave ſome occaſion; but in a blind Zeal hurried them into thoſe unwarrantable practices, ſo to prevent a falling into the like for the future.

But inſtead of this, for a Miniſter of the Goſpel (Paſtor of the old Meeting[74]) to abet ſuch Notions; and to ſtir up the Magiſtrates to ſuch Proſecutions, and this without any cautions given, is what is truly amazing, and of moſt dangerous conſequence.

It is a truth, Witchcraft is, in the Text then inſiſted on, reckon'd up as a manifeſt work of the Fleſh. *Viz. Gal.* v. 19. But it is as true, that in recounting thoſe other Works (which are indeed Manifeſt Fleſhly Works) the Magiſtrate was not ſtirred up againſt thoſe others; but as if the reſt were either not to be taken notice of by him, or as if all Zeal againſt Murder, Adulteries, *&c.* was ſwallowed up, and over-ſhadowed by this againſt Witchcraft.

It is clearly Mr. Wadsworth himself who is here reproved and reasoned with. S. L. B.

[74] The Author undoubtedly refers to Dr. Mather the Younger, though his Meaning is left rather obſcure. The *Old Meeting* may be ſuppoſed to mean that of the oldeſt Church; but of that, Mr. Wadſworth himſelf was the Miniſter.

The deſcription that was then given, was that they were ſuch as made a Covenant with the Devil, and ſold themſelves to the evil Angels. It ſeems faulty, that when ſuch Miniſter is inquired of, and requeſted to give the Reaſons, or Grounds in Scripture of ſuch Deſcription; for ſuch Miniſter to aſſert that it is the Inquirers work to diſprove it. And his ſaying further, in anſwer that there are many things true, that are not aſſerted in Scripture; ſeems to ſpeak this Language, *viz.* that the Law of God is imperfect, in not deſcribing this Crime of Witchcraft, though it be therein made Capital.

Theſe perfect Oracles inform us, concerning *Ahab*, that he ſold himſelf to work Wickedneſs; which may ſignifie to us, that great height of Wickedneſs he had arrived at; which yet might be, without his being properly, or juſtly accounted a Witch; any more than thoſe that are ſaid to have made a Covenant with Death, and with Hell, *&c.* Can it be thought that all thoſe, or ſuch as are there ſpoken of, are Witches, and ought to ſuffer as Witches?

As the Servants and People of God, have made a Solemn explicit Covenant with him, *Joſh.* xxiv. 25. *Nehem.* ix. 38. *&c.* So no doubt a Covenant has been made by *Heathen Indian* Nations to ſerve, and adore the Devil; yet even for this, it were very hard to affix the Character of [54] a Witch upon each of thoſe *Heathen* that ſo do: And accordingly to Execute them as ſuch. It is

alſo poſſible, that ſome that have been called Chriſtians, have ſealed a Writing, ſign'd with their own Blood, or otherways, thereby Covenanting to be the Devil's Servants, *&c.* but from far other grounds, or inducements than what ſways with the *Indians;* theſe Heathen hoping to pleaſe him, that ſo he may not harm them. But theſe having been Educated and Confirmed in the Belief, that by vertue of ſuch Covenant, they ſhall have a Knowledge and Power more than Humane, aſſiſting of them; this may have prevail'd with ſome to ſo horrible a wickedneſs; for none can ſeek Evil for Evils ſake; but as the Serpent in his firſt tempting Man, made uſe of the knowledge of Good and Evil; ſo to teach Men that ſuch effects do uſually follow ſuch Covenant, is properly the work of the Serpent; for without this, what inducement, or temptation could they have to make ſuch a Covenant?

Theſe having thus choſen a falſe God, may well be accounted the worſt ſort of Idolaters. Yet it does not hence follow that in a Scripture ſenſe, they are thereby become Witches, till they have, or rather till they pretend to have aſſiſtances anſwerable; and do thereby endeavour to deceive others, which endeavours to deceive, by a ſign may be without any previous Covenant.

But ſuppoſing none of all thoſe ſeveral ſorts of Covenants was intended, it remains that the Covenant, that was underſtood to be intended, in that Diſcourſe at Old Meeting, is agreeable to the late

dangerous Notion that has ſo much prevailed, *viz.* That the Devil appears to the perſons, that they and the Devil make mutual engagements each to other, confirmed by ſigning to the Devil's Book; and are from hence inabled, not only to know futurities, and things done at diſtance; but are alſo thereby impowered to do harm to the Neighbours, to raiſe Storms, and do things above and againſt a courſe of Nature: This being the notion that has occaſioned the ſhedding ſo much Blood in the World, it may be thought to need explaining.

For as Reaſon knows nothing of an Afflicting, Covenanting Witch; ſo it ſeems as Forreign from Scripture in general, as it is from the Text then inſiſted on; which ſpeaks of ſuch wickedneſſes as are manifeſtly the works of the fleſh: but ſuch Communication with Spirits, the fleſh doth manifeſtly dread even as death itſelf. Therefore the uſual Salvation of the Holy Angels to the beſt of Men was, fear not; and experience ſhews, that the moſt wicked, are moſt afrighted at the apprehenſions of the appearances of Devils; therefore ſuch an explicit Covenanting cannot be a manfeſt work of the Fleſh.

[55] Yet this is manifeſt, that the belief of the Witches power to do the things above mentioned, is an ancient belief of the Heathen. And that from them it was received by the Papiſts, as a part of their Faith, who have ſince improved upon it, and brought in the notion of a Covenant.

But it ſeems yet a further improvement lately made by Proteſtants, that ſuch Witches can Commiſſionate Devils to do thoſe miſchiefs, thereby ſetting the Witch in the place of God; for tho few of the Papiſts are known to be thus abſurd; yet when ſuch Doctrines have been Preached, and Printed in *New England*, they have met with none to oppoſe; but many to incourage them.[75] Other conſiderable additions or new improvements have been made here; as the art to knock off inviſible chains with the hand, to drive away Spectres (*i. e.* Devils) by bruſhing, ſpelling words to the Afflicted, *&c.* What has followed upon theſe notions, and upon ſuch improvements, is needleſs here to repeat, it were ~~unaccountable~~ uncomfortable (see Errata) to recount the effuſion of Blood that has been hereby occaſioned, ſuch remaining Scars, and ſuch yet bleeding wounds as are to be found; which none can wholly pretend ignorance of.

[75] The Defenders of Dr. Mather's *Wonders*, &c., remark: "After that thoſe our Honourable Judges (fearing leaſt wrong Steps might have been taken) had thus ſet apart a Day for ſolemn Humiliation before the Lord, humbly Imploring His Pardon for what might have been done amiſs; for him to repeat that Matter, and ſet it out with imperfect Relations and odious Aggravations, thereby intending to render the Land, and the Judges obnoxious (tho all the Learning that he and wiſer Men than he, pretend unto, is inſufficient to dive to the Bottom of the Matter,) and for him to ſpeak as he does of the Hononrable Perſons, as *Men obſtinate in an Error, and involved in the Guilt of the Blood ſhed by Pagans and Papiſts before them:* what ſhall we think of it, but that 'tis inhumane, and fit for none but a *Servant* of the worſt Maſter? One would have thought, that the *Fear of God* (if he has any) ſhould have darted that Scripture into his Mind, Exod. 22. 28. *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak Evil of the Ruler of thy People.*"—*Anſwer to a Scandalous Book*, &c. Paternity of Extract unmiſtakable.

And if Blood ſhall be required of that Watchman that ſeeth the Sword a coming, and gives not the needful warning; how much more of ſuch as join with the Enemy, to bring in the Sword to deſtroy them, over whom he was placed a Watchman.

And if the law of God be perfect, and exceeding broad, as being given forth by the Omnicient Law-giver; it is exceeding high preſumption and arrogance, and highly deſtructive to the lives of Innocents, for any to pretend to give another, and a pretended better deſcription of a crime made thereby Capital, with new rules to try ſuch offenders by.

Reverend Sir, the matter being of ſuch high concern requires (and it is again prayed) that you would be pleaſed to conſider, and give the grounds from Scripture, or Reaſon of ſuch Definition, or elſe that you would explode it, as inconſiſtent with both. From, Reverend Sir, Yours to my utmoſt.

R. C.

PART III.

An Account of the Differences in SALEM *Village.*

THE Reaſons why we withdraw from Communion with the Church of *Salem* Village, both as to hearing the word Preached, and from

partaking with them at the Lord's Table, are as followeth.

Why we attend not on publick Prayer, and preaching the word, there are,

[56] *I. The Diſtracting, and Diſturbing tumults, and noiſes made by the perſons under Diabolical Power and deluſions: preventing ſometimes our hearing, underſtanding, and profiting by the word preached. We having after many Trials, and Experiences found no redreſs in this matter, accountea ourſelves under a neceſſity to go where we might hear the word in quiet.*

2. *The apprehenſion of danger of ourſelves, being accuſed as the Devil's Inſtruments, to afflict the perſons complaining, we ſeeing thoſe that we have reaſon to eſteem better than ourſelves thus accuſed, blemiſhed, and of their lives bereaved: for ſeeing this, thought it our prudence to withdraw.*

3. *We found ſo frequent and poſitive preaching up ſome Principles and Practices by Mr.* Parris,[76] *referring to the dark and diſmal myſtery of Iniquity working among us, was not profitable, but offenſive.*

4. *Neither could we in Conſcience join with Mr.* Parris, *in many of the Requeſts which he made in Prayer, referring to the trouble then among us and upon us; therefore thought it our moſt ſafe and peaceable way to withdraw.*

[76] A brief Article on this deluded Man will be ſeen in Dr. Allen's *Amer. Biog. Dictionary.* He will be found further noticed in theſe Pages. He poſſeſſed conſiderable Ability, but was very weak minded.

The Reaſons why we hold not Communion with them at the Lord's Table, are becauſe we find ourſelves juſtly aggrieved, and offended with the Officer, who does adminiſter, for the Reaſons following.

I. From his declared and publiſhed Principles, referring to our moleſtations from the Inviſible World: Differing from the Opinion of the generality of the Orthodox Miniſters of the Country.

2. *His eaſie and ſtrong Faith and Belief of the before-mentioned Accuſations, made by thoſe called the Afflicted.*

3. *His laying aſide that grace (which above all we are to put on,) viz. Charity towards his Neighbours, and eſpecially thoſe of his Church, when there is no apparent reaſon, but for the contrary.*

4. *His approving and practicing unwarrantable and ungrounded methods, for diſcovering what he was deſirous to know, referring to the bewitched, or poſſeſſed perſons, as in bringing ſome to others, and by them pretending to inform himſelf and others, who were the Devil's inſtruments to afflict the ſick and maimed.*

5. *His unſafe unaccountable Oath, given by him againſt ſundry of the accuſed.*

6. *His not rendering to the World ſo fair (if ſo true) account of what he wrote on Examination of the afflicted.*

7. *Sundry unſafe (if ſound points of Doctrine delivered in his Preaching) which we find not warrantable (if Chriſtian.)*

8. *His perſiſting in theſe Principles, and juſtifying his Practice; not rendering any ſatisfaction to us, when regularly deſired, but rather offending, and diſſatisfying ourſelves.*

[57] We whoſe Names are under written, heard this Paper read to our Paſtor, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, the 21*ſt* of *April*, 1693.

Nathaniel Jigarſon,[76]	*Peter Cloyce*, Seniour.
Edward Pulman,	*Samuel Nurce*,
Aaron Way,	*John Jarboll*,
William Way,	*Thomas Wilkins.*

Mr. Parris's *Acknowledgment.*

FOR as much as it is the undoubted duty of all Chriſtians to purſue Peace, *Pſal.* xxxiv. 14. even to a reaching of it, if it be poſſible, *Amos* xii. 18, 19. And whereas through the righteous, Sovereign, and awful Providence of God, the grand Enemy to all Chriſtian Peace, has been of late tremendouſly let looſe in divers places hereabout, and more eſpecially among our ſinful ſelves, not only to interrupt that partial peace which we did ſometimes enjoy, but alſo through his wiles and temptations, and our weakneſs, and corruptions, to make wider breaches, and raiſe more bitter Animoſities between too many of us. In which dark and difficult diſpenſations, we have

[76] Perhaps a typographical Error. Nathaniel *Ingerſon* or *Ingerſoll* is undoubtedly meant. Edward Pulman is Edward *Putman;* Nurce is ſince *Nourſe;* Jarboll is *Tarbell.*

been all or moſt of us of one mind for a time; and afterwards of differing apprehenſions. And at laſt we are but in the dark, upon ſerious thoughts of all; and after many Prayers, I have been moved to preſent to you (my beloved Flock) the following particulars, in way of Contribution towards a regaining of Chriſtian Concord; if ſo be we be not altogether unappeaſeable, irreconcileable, and ſo deſtitute of that good Spirit, which is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated, *James* iii. 17. viz.

1. In that the Lord ordered the late horrid calamity[77] (which afterward plague-like ſpread in many other places) to break out firſt in my Family, I cannot but look upon as a very ſore rebuke, and humbling providence, both to myſelf and mine, and deſire ſome may improve it.

2. In that alſo in my Family were ſome of both parties, *viz.* Accuſers and Accuſed, I look alſo upon as an aggravation of that rebuke, as an addition of Wormwood to the Gall.

3. In the means which were uſed in my Family, though totally unknown to me or mine (except Servants) till afterwards, to raiſe Spirits and Apparitions in no better than a Diabolical way, I do alſo look upon as a further rebuke of Divine Providence. And by all, I do humbly own this day before the Lord and his People, that God has been righteouſly ſpitting in my face, *Numb.*

[77] This flatly contradicts thoſe who have charged all to the Devil.

xii. 14. And I desire to lye low under all this reproach, and to lay my hand on my mouth.

[58] 4. As to the management of these Mysteries, as far as concerns myself, I am very desirous upon further light to own any errors I have therein fallen into, and can come to a discerning of; in the mean while I do acknowledge upon after-considerations, that were the same troubles again, (which the Lord of his rich mercy forever prevent) I should not agree with my former apprehensions in all points. As for Instance,

1. I question not but God sometimes suffers the Devil, as of late, to afflict in shape of not only Innocent, but Pious persons, or so to delude the Senses of the afflicted, that they strongly conceit their hurt is from such persons, when indeed it is not.

2. The improving of one afflicted to inquire by who afflicts the other, I fear may be, and has been unlawfully used to Satan's great Advantage.

3. As to my writing, it was put upon me by Authority, and therein I have been very careful to avoid the wronging of any.

4. As to my Oath I never meant it, nor do I know how it can be otherwise construed, than as vulgarly, and every one understood, yea, and upon inquiry it may be found so worded also.

5. As to any passage in preaching, or praying in the sore hour of distress and darkness, I always intended but due Justice on each hand, and that not according to Men but God; who knows all

things moſt perfectly; however through weakneſs, or ſore exerciſe, I might ſometimes, yea and poſſibly ſundry times unadviſedly expreſs myſelf.

6. As to ſeveral that have confeſſed againſt themſelves, they being wholly ſtrangers to me, but yet of good account with better Men than myſelf, to whom alſo they are well known, I do not paſs ſo much as a ſecret condemnation upon them. But rather ſeeing God hath ſo amazingly lengthened out Satan's Chain, in this moſt formidable outrage, I much more incline to ſide with the Opinion of thoſe that have grounds to hope better of them.

7. As to all that have unduly ſuffered in theſe matters, either in their Perſons or Relations, through the clouds of human weakneſs, and Satan's wiles and ſophiſtry, I do truly ſympathize with them, taking it for granted, that ſuch as know themſelves clear of this great tranſgreſſion, or that have ſufficient grounds ſo to look upon their dear Friends, have hereby been under thoſe ſore tryals and temptations, that not an ordinary meaſure of true grace would be ſufficient to prevent a bewraying of remaining corruption.

8. I am very much in the mind, and abundantly perſwaded that God for holy ends (though for what in particular, is beſt known to himſelf) has ſuffered the Evil Angels to delude us on both hands; but how far on the one ſide, or the other, is much above me to ſay, and if we cannot reconcile till we come to a full diſcerning of theſe

things, I fear we ſhall never come to an agreement, or at ſooneſt not in this World.

[59] Therefore in fine, the matter being ſo dark and perplexed, as that there is no preſent appearance, that all God's Servants ſhould be altogether of one mind in all circumſtances, touching the ſame; I do moſt heartily, fervently, and humbly beſeech pardon of the merciful God, through the Blood of Chriſt for all my miſtakes and treſpaſſes in ſo weighty a matter. And alſo all your forgiveneſs of every offence, in this or other affairs, wherein you ſee or conceived that I have erred and offended, profeſſing in the preſence of the Almighty God, that what I have done has been as for ſubſtance as I apprehended was [my] duty, however thro' weakneſs, Ignorance, *&c.* I may have been miſtaken. I alſo thro' grace promiſing each of you the like of me; ſo again I beg, intreat, and beſeech you, that Satan, the Devil, the roaring Lion, the old Dragon, the Enemy of all Righteouſneſs, may no longer be ſerved by us, by our Envy and Strifes, where every evil work prevails whilſt theſe bear ſway, *James* iii. 14, 15, 16. But that all from this day forward may be covered with the mantle of love, and we may on all hands forgive each other heartily, ſincerely and thoroughly, as we do hope and pray, that God for Chriſt's ſake would forgive each of ourſelves, *Mat.* xviii. 21. to the end. *Coloſ.* iii. 12, 13. *Put on therefore (as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercies, kindneſs,*

humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering; Forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel againſt any, even as Chriſt forgave you, ſo alſo do ye. Eph. iv. 31, 32. *Let all bitterneſs, and anger, and clamour, and evil-ſpeaking be put away from you with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Chriſt's ſake, hath forgiven you.* Amen. Amen.

Samuel Parris.

Given to the Diſſenting Brethren, for their conſideration of, at their requeſt. *Nov.* 26, 1694.

The Elders and Meſſengers of the churches met at Salem *Village*, April 3, 1695, *to conſider and determine what is to be done, for the compoſure of the preſent unhappy differences in that place. After ſolemn invocation of God in Chriſt for his direction, do unanimouſly declare, as followeth*, viz.

1. WE judge that all be it in the late and dark time of the confuſions, wherein Satan had obtained a more than ordinary liberty, to be ſifting of this Plantation, there were ſundry unwarrantable, and uncomfortable ſteps, taken by Mr. *Samuel Parris*, the Paſtor of the Church in *Salem* Village, then under the hurrying diſtractions

of amazing Afflictions; yet the ſaid Mr. *Parris*, by the good hand of God brought unto a better ſenſe of things, hath ſo fully expreſt it, that a Chriſtian charity may and ſhould receive ſatisfaction therewith.

[60] 2. Inaſmuch as diverſe Chriſtian Brethren, in the Church of *Salem* Village, have been offended at Mr. *Parris*, for his conduct in the time of their difficulties, which have diſtreſſed them; we now adviſe them Charitably to accept the ſatisfaction which he hath tendered in his Chriſtian acknowledgment of the Errors therein committed; yea to endeavour, as far as it is poſſible, the fulleſt reconciliation of their minds unto Communion with him, in the whole Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, and with the reſt of the Church, *Matt.* vi. 12, 14. *Luke* xvii. 3. *James* v. 16.

3. Conſidering the extream tryals and troubles, which the diſſatisfied Brethren in the Church of *Salem* Village have undergone, in the day of ſore temptation, which hath been upon them; we cannot but adviſe the Church to treat them with bowels of much compaſſion, inſtead of all more critical, or rigorous proceedings againſt them for the Infirmities diſcovered by them, in ſuch an heart-breaking day; and if after a patient waiting for it, the ſaid Brethren cannot ſo far overcome the uneaſineſs of their Spirits, in the remembrance of the diſaſters that have hapned, as to ſit under his Miniſtry; we adviſe the Church with all tenderneſs to grant them admiſſion to any other

Society of the Faithful, whereunto they may be desired to be dismist. *Gal.* vi. 1, 2. *Psal.* ciii. 13, 14. *Job* xix. 21.

4. Mr. *Parris* having (as we understand) with much fidelity and integrity acquitted himself, in the main course of his Ministry, since he hath been Pastor of the Church of *Salem* Village; about his first call whereunto, we look upon all contestations now to be both unreasonable and unseasonable: And our Lord having made him a blessing to the Souls of not a few, both old and young in this place, we advise that he be accordingly respected, honour'd and supported, with all the regards that are due to a painful Minister of the gospel. 1 *Thes.* v. 12, 13. 1 *Tim.* v. 17.

5. Having observed that there is in *Salem* Village, a Spirit full of contention and animosity, too sadly verifying the blemish which hath heretofore lain upon them: And that some complaints against Mr. *Parris* have been either causeless, or groundless, or unduly aggravated; we do in the name and fear of the Lord solemnly warn them to consider, whether if they continue to devour one another it will not be bitterness in the latter end, and beware lest the Lord be provoked thereby utterly to deprive them of those (which they should count) their precious and pleasant things, and abandon them to all the desolations of a People that sin away the Mercies of the Gospel. *James* iii. 16. *Gal.* v. 15. 2 *Sam.* ii. 26. *Isa.* v. 45. *Mat.* xxi. 43.

6. If the Diſtempers in *Salem* Village ſhould be (which God forbid) ſo incurable, that Mr. *Parris* after all find that he cannot with any comfort and ſervice continue in his preſent Station, his removal from thence will [61] not expoſe him to any hard Character with us; nor we hope with the reſt of the People of God, among whom we live. *Matt.* x. 14. *Acts* xxii. 18. All which advice we follow, with our Prayers that the God of Peace would bruiſe Satan under our Feet; now the Lord of Peace himſelf give you Peace always by all means.

Joſ. Bridgham,[79]	*John Walley,*	*Samuel Phillips,*
Samuel Chickley,	*Jer. Dummer,*	*James Allen,*
William Tory,	*Neh. Jewitt,*	*Samuel Tory,*
Joſ. Boynton,	*Ephr. Hunt,*	*Samuel Willard,*
Richard Middlecutt,	*Nath. Williams,*	*Edward Paiſon,*
	Incr. Mather,	*Cotton Mather.*

[79] Joſeph Bridgham was probably the Son of Henry, of Dorcheſter, and afterwards of Boſton, born in 1651. He was a Member of the Artillery Company, Repreſentative, and in other Walks a prominent Man. He died about 1709. Samuel *Checkley* was the Miniſter of the New South Church, Boſton. Jeremiah Dummer was the well known Author, the *Defence of the New England Charters.* Nehemiah *Jewett,* I ſuppoſe, was of Ipſwich, a Repreſentative, and, at one Time, Speaker of the Houſe, and died about 1720. James Allen was Miniſter of the Firſt Church, Boſton. Samuel *Torrey* was Miniſter of Weymouth, and died in 1707. William *Torrey* was alſo of Weymouth, and Brother of the Rev. Samuel. Joſeph Boynton was of Rowley. Richard *Middlecott* was of Boſton. John Walley was probably the Major Walley who ſhared the Diſgrace of the ill adviſed and iller executed Expedition againſt Canada, under Sir William Phips. Hunt was another of Phips's Colonels, &c., was of Weymouth, and died 1713. Williams was probably the *Nathaniel* Williams, of Boſton, a Commiſſary in Philip's War. *Samuel* Phillips

To the Reverend Elders of the Three Churches of Chriſt, at *Boſton*, with others the Elders and Brethren of other Churches, late of a Council at *Salem* Village.

WE *whoſe Names are hereunto Subſcribed, are bold once more to trouble you with our humble Propoſals. That whereas there has been long and uncomfortable differences among us, chiefly relating to Mr.* Parris; *and we having, as we apprehend, attended all probable means for a compoſure of our troubles; and whereas we had hopes of an happy Iſſue, by your endeavors among us, but now are utterly fruſtrated of our Expectations, and that inſtead of uniting, our rent is made worſe, and our breach made wider.*

We humbly Query, Whether yourſelves being ſtreightned of time, might not omit ſuch ſatisfactory liberty of debating the whole of our Controverſie; whereby yourſelves had not ſo large an opportunity of underſtanding the Caſe; nor the offended ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied in your advice: We therefore humbly propoſe, and give full liberty of proving and defending of what may be charged on either hand,

[There is here an omission. Insert from Errata — vol. iii, p. 223.]

was the Miniſter of Rowley, perhaps, who died in 1696. *Samuel* Willard, of the Old South, Author of *A Body of Divinity*, and other theological Work, Vice-Preſident of Harvard College, &c.; he died in 1707. See Note *ante*. *Edward* Payſon was Miniſter of Rowley, and was Father of ſeventeen Children, and died 1732.

leaving it to yourſelves to appoint both time and place.

1. *That if yourſelves pleaſe to take the trouble with patience once more to hear the whole Caſe.*

2. *Or that you will more plainly adviſe Mr.* Parris, (*the Caſe being ſo circumſtanced, that he cannot with comfort or profit, to himſelf, or others, abide in the Work of the Miniſtry among us*) *to ceaſe his labours, and ſeek to diſpoſe himſelf elſewhere, as God in his Providence may direct: and that yourſelves would pleaſe to help us in adviſing to ſuch a choice, wherein we may be more unanimous; which we hope would tend much to a compoſure of our differences.*

3. *Or, that we may without any offence take the liberty of calling ſome other proved Miniſter of the Goſpel, to Preach the Word of God to us and ours:* [62] *and that we may not be denied our proportionable privilege, in our publick diſburſments in the place.*

So leaving the whole case with the Lord and yourſelves, we Subſcribe our Names. Signed by 16 young Men, from 16 upwards; and 52 Houſholders, and 18 Church Members. This was delivered to the Miniſters, *May* 3, 1695.[80]

[80] Whether the Original manuſcript of this Paper is in exiſtence I have not learned. The Names of the Signers would be of much intereſt at this Time, and the Hiſtorian of Salem ſhould not ceaſe his Labours until it is found, if anywhere preſerved.

The Copy of a Paper that was handed about touching thoſe Differences.

AS to the conteſt between Mr. *Parris* and his Hearers, *&c.* it may be compoſed by a Satisfactory Anſwer, to *Levit.* xx. 6. *And the Soul that turneth after ſuch as have familiar Spirits, and after Wizzards, to go a whoring after them, I will even ſet my face againſt that Soul; and will cut him off from among his People.* 1 Chron. x. 13, 14. *So* Saul *died for his tranſgreſſion, which he committed againſt the Lord, even againſt the word of the Lord, which he kept not, and alſo for aſking Counſil of one that had a familiar Spirit to inquire of it. And inquired not of the Lord, therefore he ſlew him, &c.*[81]

[81] One who was as firm a Believer as Dr. Mather in Witch Myſteries, remarks in Juſtification of what was done—"That I may ſatisfy ſuch as are not reſolved to the Contrary; that there may be (and are) ſuch Operations of the Powers of Darkneſs on the Bodies and Minds of Mankind; by Divine Permiſſion; and that thoſe who ſate Judges in thoſe Caſes, may by the ſerious Conſideration of the formidable Aſpect and perplexed Circumſtances, of that Afflictive Providence; be in ſome meaſure excuſed; or at leaſt be leſs cenſured, for paſſing Sentence on ſeveral Perſons, as being the Inſtruments of *Satan* in thoſe Diabolical Operations, when they were involved in ſuch a Dark and Diſmal ſcene of Providence, in which *Satan* did ſeem to Spin a finer Thred of Spiritual Wickedneſs than in the ordinary methods of Witchcraft; hence the Judges deſiring to bear due Teſtimony, againſt ſuch Diabolical Practices, were inclined to admit the validity of ſuch a ſort of Evidence, as was not ſo clearly and directly demonſtrable to Human Senſes, as in other Caſes is required or elſe they could not diſcover the Myſteries of Witchcraft; I preſume not to impoſe upon my *Chriſtian* or *Learned* Reader; any opinion of mine, how far *Satan* was an Inſtrument in God's Hand, in thoſe

Some part of the Determination of the Elders and Meſſengers of the Churches, met at *Salem* Village, *April* 3, 1695, relating to the Differences there.

IF *the Diſtemper in* Salem *Village ſhould be* (which God forbid) *ſo incurable that Mr.* Parris *after all, find that he cannot with any comfort and ſervice continue in this preſent ſtation, his removal from thence will not expoſe him to any hard Character with us* (*nor we hope*) *with the reſt of the People of God, among whom we live,* Mat. x. 14. And whoſoever ſhall not receive you, nor hear your words; when you depart out of that houſe, or city, ſhake off the duſt of your feet, *&c.* Acts xxii. 18. *All which Advice we follow with our Prayers, that the God of Peace would bruiſe Satan under our feet, Now the Lord of Peace give you Peace always, by all means,* &c.

Queſt. Whether Mr. *Parris* his going to *Abi-*

amazing Afflictions, which were on many Perſons there, [at Salem] about that time; but I am certainly convinced, that the Great God was pleaſed to lengthen his Chain to a very great Degree, for the hurting of *Some* and reproaching of *Others,* as far as he was permitted to do ſo."—Lawſon, *pages* 93-4.

From this Author's uncertain view of the Operations of the Devil (which was the View of a great majority of the World), it is not at all ſtrange that ſome among the very Conſcientious people inquired as to the Difference between the Malignant and Supreme Power; that is, if the Supreme controlled the Malignant, there was no queſtion to whom the Conſequences were to be charged; and hence it is in no wiſe to be wondered at that ſome in their Simplicity could not underſtand what uſe there was for any Devil at all, mutch leſs for Witches.

gail Williams[82] (and others) whom he ſuppoſed to have a Spectral ſight (to be informed who were Witches and who afflicted thoſe pretended ſufferers by Witchcraft) in order to their being queſtioned upon their lives for it, were not a turning after ſuch as had familiar Spirits; and a greater wickedneſs than *Saul* was guilty of (in that he did not intend thereby bodily hurt to any others.)

And whether in a crime of ſuch a high nature, the making a ſlender and general confeſſion, without any propoſals of reparations, or due time of probation, ought ſo far to be accounted ſufficient, from ſuch a Paſtor to his People.

[63] And whether ſuch as were accuſed, or the ſurviving Friends and Relations of thoſe that were any ways ſufferers, by Accuſations ſo by him ~~proved,~~ procured (See Errata) are in duty and conſcience bound to continue their reſpect, honour and ſupport to him, in the Miniſtry, after ſuch known departures from the Rule of Gods word, and after ſuch dire effects as followed thereupon, under the penalty *of the duſt ſhaken from his feet*, teſtifying againſt them, even ſo as to render them in a worſe caſe than thoſe of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*.

[82] Mr. Lawſon ſays ſhe was "about twelve Years of Age."— *Brief and True Nar.*, P. 3. Much more concerning her will be found.

To the Honourable Wait Winthrop,[83] Eliſha Cook,[84] *and* Samuel Sewall, *Eſquires, Arbitrators indifferently choſen, between Mr.* Samuel Parris, *and the inhabitants of* Salem *Village.*

THE Remonſtrances of ſeveral aggrieved perſons in the ſaid Village, with further reaſons why they conceive they ought not to hear Mr. *Parris*, nor to own him as a Miniſter of the Goſpel, nor to contribute any ſupport to him as ſuch, for ſeveral Years paſt; humbly offered as fit for conſideration.

We humbly conceive that having in *April* 1693, given our Reaſons why we could not join with Mr. *Parris* in Prayer, Preaching, or Sacraments. If theſe Reaſons are found ſufficient for our withdrawing, (and we cannot yet find but they are) Then we conceive ourſelves virtually diſcharged, not only in Conſcience, but alſo in Law; which requires maintenance to be given to ſuch as are Orthodox, and blameleſs. The ſaid Mr. *Parris* having been teaching ſuch dangerous Errors, and preached ſuch ſcandalous Immoralities, as ought

[83] *Wait Still* was his full Name. He was Son of Gov. John Winthrop, of Connecticut; died in Boſton about 1717.

[84] Mr. Cook was one of the very diſtinguiſhed Men of the Period under Notice. He wrote his Name *Cooke*. I need only refer to Allen's *Biographical Dictionary* and the *Hiſt. and Antiq's of Boſton* for an Account of him. He agreed with Mr. Calef about the New Charter.

to diſcharge any (tho ever ſo gifted otherways) from the work of the Miniſtry.

Particularly in his Oath againſt the lives of ſeveral, wherein he ſwears that the Priſoners with their looks knock down thoſe pretended ſufferers. We humbly conceive, that he that Swears to more than he is certain of, is equally guilty of Perjury, with him that Swears to what is falſe. And tho they did fall at ſuch a time, yet it could not be known that they did it, much leſs could they be certain of it; yet did Swear poſitively againſt the lives of ſuch, as he could not have any knowledge but they might be Innocent.

His believing the Devil's Accuſations, and readily departing from all Charity to perſons, tho of blameleſs and godly lives, upon ſuch ſuggeſtions, his promoting ſuch Accuſations, as alſo his partiality therein, in ſtifling the Accuſations of ſome, and the ſame time vigilantly promoting others; as we conceive are juſt cauſes for our refuſal, *&c.*

That Mr. *Parris's* going to *Mary Walcut*,[85] or *Abigail Williams*, and directing others to them, to know who afflicted the People in their illneſſes; [64] we underſtand this to be a dealing with them that have a familiar ſpirit, and an implicit denying the providence of God, which alone, as we believe, can ſend Afflictions, or cauſe Devils to Afflict any; this we alſo conceive ſufficient to juſtifie ſuch refuſal.

[85] She was a Daughter, I ſuppoſe, of Jonathan Walcut, by Wife Mary, Daughter of John Sibley. Walcut was an early Salem Family, ſome of whom went to Rhode Iſland, where Deſcendants are yet found.

That Mr. *Parris* by theſe Practices and Principles, has been the beginner and procurer of the ſoreſt Afflictions, not to this Village only, but to this whole Country, that did ever befal them.

We the Subſcribers, in behalf of ourſelves, and of ſeveral others of the ſame mind with us (touching theſe things) having ſome of us had our Relations by theſe practices taken off by an untimely Death; others have been impriſoned, and ſuffered in our Perſons, Reputations, and Eſtates; ſubmit the whole to your Honours deciſion, to determine whether we are or ought to be any ways obliged to honour, reſpect and ſupport ſuch an Inſtrument of our miſeries; praying God to guide your Honours, to act herein, as may be for his Glory, and the future ſettlement of our Village, in Amity and Unity.

JOHN TARBALL,[86]
SAMUEL NURSE,
JOS. PUTNAM,
DAN. ANDREW,
} Attornies for the people of the Village.

Boſton, July 21, 1697.

According to the order of the aforeſaid arbitrators, the ſaid Mr. *Parris*, had ſome of his arrears paid him, as alſo a ſum of money for his repairs of the miniſterial houſe of the ſaid Village, and is diſmiſſed therefrom.

[86] Tarball and Nurſe are the ſame mentioned at Note 77. The others will be noticed onward, in the Account o the Trials.

PART IV.

A Letter of a Gentleman[87] *endeavouring to prove the received Opinions about Witchcraft.*

SIR,

I Told you, I had ſome thoughts concerning Witchcraft, and an Intention of conferring with the Gentleman,[88] who has publiſhed ſeveral Treatiſes about Witchcraft, and perſons afflicted by them, lately here in *New-England;* but ſince you have put thoſe three Books into my hands, I find myſelf engaged in a very hard Province, to give you my opinion of them. I plainly foreſee, that ſhould this ſcribling of mine come to [65] publick view, it would diſpleaſe all Parties, but that

[87] The only Mention of the Author of theſe Letters I have met with is contained in the Anſwer to the *More Wonders*, by Dr. Mather, and is in this Paſſage: "The *Anti-ſcriptural Doctrines* eſpouſed by this Man [Calef] do alſo call for no *further Anſwer;* for a certain *Scotchman* (one Stuart) of no very great Circumſtances, aboard one of our Frigates then in our Harbour, ſent him *Two Letters*, which he has been ſo ſilly as to inſert in his wretched Volume." This "one Stuart" was, perhaps, Chaplain on board the Man-of-war. The Doctor thinks Mr. Calef was very ſilly to print the Letters, becauſe they were, in his Judgment, a complete Vindication of Witchcraft. Mr. Calef was willing all ſhould be ſaid on that ſide that could be ſaid. He felt fully convinced that,

"Falſehoods which we ſpurn To-day
Were the Truths of Long-ago;
Let the dead Bough fall away,
Freſher ſhall the living grow."
WHITTIER.

[88] Doctor Mather.

is the leaſt; moreover it is ſo far out of my Road to ſet my thoughts to conſider a matter on every ſide, which in itſelf is ſo abſtruce, and every ſtep I advance therein, if I miſs truth (which is a narrow and undivided line) I muſt tumble down headlong into the Gulph of dangerous error; yet notwithſtanding I have forced myſelf to ſend theſe few lines, if ſo be I may clear to you a truth, you now ſeem to be offended at, becauſe of the ill conſequences, which (you think) lately have and again may be drawn from it, by the ill conduct of ſome Men. I am not ignorant that the pious frauds of the Ancient, and the inbred fire (I do not call it pride) of many of our Modern Divines have precipitated them to propagate, and maintain truth as well as falſehood, in ſuch an unfair manner, as has given advantage to the Enemy, to ſuſpect the whole Doctrine, theſe Men have profeſt to be nothing but a meer trick. But it is certain, that as no lover of truth will juſtifie an Illegitimate Corollary, tho drawn from a true Propoſition; ſo neither will he reject a truth, becauſe ſome or many Men take unfair mediums to prove it, or draw falſe conſequences from it: The many Hereſies among Chriſtians, muſt not give a mortal wound to the Eſſence of the Chriſtian Religion; neither muſt any one Chriſtian Doctrine be exterminated, becauſe Evil Men make uſe of it, as a Cloak to cover their own ſelf-ends; particularly, becauſe ſome men perhaps among all ſorts of Chriſtians, have under

pretence of Witchcraft coloured their own Malice, Pride and Popularity; we muſt not therefore conclude (firſt) that there are no Witches (2.) or that Witches cannot be Convicted by ſuch clear and undeniable proof, as the Law of God requires in the caſe of Death (3.) Or that a Witch ſo Convicted ought not to be put to death. 1. That there are Witches is manfeſt from the precept of *Moſes, Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to live.* Exod. xxii. 18. for it is certain God would not have given a vain and unintelligible Law, as this muſt be of putting Witches to death, if there are no Witches. But you object that this doth not anſwer our Caſe, for we have formed another Idea of Witches than what can be gathered from Scriptures; you quote four places, *viz. Deut.* xiii. *Mat.* xxiv. *Acts* xiii. 2. *Tim.* iii. from all which you infer that Witchcraft is a maligning and oppugning the Word, Works and Worſhip of God; and by an extraordinary ſign, ſeeking to ſeduce any from it, and this you readily grant. But then you ſay, What is this to Witches now a days? who are ſaid to have made an explicit Covenant with the Devil, and to be impowered by him, to the doing of things ſtrange in themſelves, and beſides their natural courſe. This you ſay does not follow, and herein indeed conſiſts the whole Controverſie. Therefore it is neceſſary, that firſt of all we clear this point, laying aſide thoſe prejudices we may have from the fatal application of this Doctrine, [66] to ſome (who

were in your judgment) really at leaſt in Law, and before Men Innocent. In a word, we are ſeeking after truth, and truth ſhall and will be truth, in ſpite of Men and Devils. I do not repeat this caution to foreſtall you, to believe the Doctrine of Witchcraft, as it is above defined, without inquiring into the reaſon and truth of it; only I deſire you to enquire into it, as a thing doubtful. For no Man can be certain of a Negative, unleſs either the Affirmative imply a contradiction, or he can prove it by certain teſtimony, to neither of which you pretend; only you alledge it cannot be proved by Scripture, *i. e.* you cannot prove it, nor have ſeen it proved by any other you have read on that Subject. I am not ſo vain as to think I can do better than the learned Authors you have conſulted with (though I know not what they have done, for I had no other Book but the Bible, to make uſe of on this occaſion;) but becauſe I am ſatisfied myſelf, I am willing to communicate my Reaſons, which I divide into Three heads. 1. The appearance of Angels. 2. The nature of Poſſeſſion. 3 and the ſcripture notion of Witchcraft. 1. Good Angels did appear to *Abraham*, and did eat, *Gen.* xv. it ſeems he waſh'd their Feet, it is certain he ſaw and heard them, therefore there is no impoſſibility in Angels being converſant with men. God is true, and whatever is contained in Sacred Writ is true; if we poor ſhallow Mortals do not comprehend the manner how, that argues only our

weakneſs and ignorance in this dark Priſon of Fleſh, wherein we are incloſed, during our abode in this vale of miſery, but doth not in the leaſt infringe the verity of the Scripture; it is ſufficient that we undoubtedly know they have appeared unto Men in bodily ſhape, and done their Errand they were ſent on from God. Now if good Angels have appeared, why may not bad? Surely the Devils, becauſe fallen and Evil, have not therefore loſt the Nature of Angels, neither is there any contradiction in their appearing in a bodily ſhape, now after any more than before their Fall. But you will ſay you muſt allow of the appearances of Good Angels, becauſe of the Scripture teſtimony; but not of bad, ſeeing there is no place of Scripture that clearly proves it. *Mat.* 4. The words in the Goſpel do as plainly ſignifie the Devils outward appearance to our Saviour, when he was tempted, as can be expreſs'd, *and when the tempter came to him he ſaid—but he anſwered*—the ſame form St. *Luke* uſeth to ſignifie the appearance of *Moſes* and *Elias*, in the transfiguration, *And behold there talked with him two men:* for what follows, ver. 31, *who appeared* is uſed to ſignifie (not their appearance, but) the manner of their appearance *in great Glory*. But you'l urge that 'tis very eaſie to be underſtood, that *Moſes* and *Elias* did appear, becauſe they had human bodies; but that it is unintelligible to you, how the Devil being a Spirit can appear, a Spirit, *i. e.* a ſubſtance void of all

dimenſions; therefore the words in [67] the Hiſtory muſt not be taken in a literal Senſe. Do not miſtake; tho ſome Philoſophers are of opinion (which whether true or falſe, is all one to our preſent Argument) that a Spirits ſubſtance is extended, and hath beſides length, breadth and depth, a fourth dimenſion, *viz.* eſſential ſpiſſitude; yet the ſame do not ſay, that pure ſubſtance is perceptible by our bodily ſenſes; on the contrary, they tell us, that Spirits are cloathed with vehicles, *i. e.* they are united to certain portions of matter, which they inform, move and actuate. Now this we muſt not reject as impoſſible, becauſe we cannot comprehend the formal reaſon, how a Spirit acts upon matter: For who can give the Reaſon, that upon the Volition of the human Soul, the Hand ſhould be lifted up, or any ways moved? for to ſay the Contraction of the Muſcles is the Mechanick cauſe of voluntary motion, is not to ſolve the Queſtion which recurs, why upon Volition ſhould that Contraction enſue which cauſes that motion? all that I know the wiſeſt Man ever ſaid upon this head, is, that it is the will of the Creator; who hath ordered ſuch a ſpecies of thinking Creatures, by a Catholick Law to be united to ſuch portions of matter, ſo and ſo diſpoſed, or, if you will in the vulgar Phraſe, to Organiz'd bodies, and that there ſhould be between them and the ſeveral bodies, they are united to, a mutual re-action and paſſion: Now you ſee how little we know of the reaſon, of that

which is moſt near to us, and moſt certain, *viz.* The Souls informing the Body, yet you would think it a bad Argument, if one ſhould, as ſome have done, include from this our Ignorance, that there was nothing in us but matter, it is no otherways to deny a Spirits acting a Vehicle. The plaineſt and moſt certain things when denied are hardeſt to be proved, therefore the Axiom ſaith well, *contra principa, &c.* There are ſome certain truths which are rather to be explained to young beginners than proved, upon which yet all Science is built, as every whole is more than his part, and of this ſort I take theſe two following. 1. That there are two ſubſtances, *Corpus* & *Mens*, Body and Spirit, altogether different, for the Ideas we have of them are quite diſtinct. 2. That a Spirit can Actuate, Animate, or inform a certain portion of matter, and be united to it: from whence it is very evident, that the Devil united to a portion of matter (which hereafter I'll call a Vehicle) may fall under the cognizance of our Senſes, and be converſant with us in a bodily ſhape. Where then is the reaſon or need to run to a Metaphorical, and forced Interpretation, when the words are ſo plain, and the literal ſenſe implieth no contradiction, nor any greater difficulty than (as has been ſaid) what ariſeth from the Union of the Soul and Body, which is moſt certain. Now after all to ſay, God *will not* permit the Devil ſo to appear, is to beg the queſtion without ſaying any thing to the preceeding Ar-

gument, and it is againſt the ſenſe of almoſt all mankind; [68] for in all Ages, and all places there have been many Witneſſes of the appearances of *Dæmons*, all of whom that taught any thing contrary to the right Worſhip of the true God, were certainly evil ones: and it were moſt preſumptuous, barely to aſſert that all theſe witneſſes were always deceived, and it is impoſſible they could all agree to deceive. 2. We come to conſider the nature of Poſſeſſion. The Man poſſeſt, *Luk.* viii. 27. had a Power more than Natural, for he break the bands, which he could not have done by his own ſtrength: Now from whom had he this Power? The Scripture ſaith, he had Devils along time, and oftentimes it had caught him, *&c.* he was kept bound with Chains and in Fetters, and he break the bands, and was driven of the Devil into the Wilderneſs; this Power then was immediately from the Devil, and whatſoever poſſeſſed perſons does, or ſuffers things beyond his natural power; he is inabled by the *Dæmon* ſo to do: or to ſpeak more properly, it is the *Dæemon* who acteth the ſame, as is plain from St. *Mark's* Relation of this paſſage, v. 5. 2. A Man with an unclean Spirit, v. 3. 2. and no Man could bind him, no, not with Chains, 6. v. but when he ſaw Jeſus afar off he ran and worſhiped him, and the ſame He. v. 7. ſaid I adjure thee by God that thou torment me not, and *v.* 10. My name is *Legion*, for we are many, *v.* 11. and he beſought him much, that he would

not ſend *them* away out of the Countrey: it is manifeſt from hence, that it was not the poor Man who was poſſeſt, but the Devils who poſſeſſed him, by whom the Chains had been pluck'd aſunder, and the Fetters broken in pieces; now here is Divine teſtimony, that the Devils have actuated a Humane body to the doing of things beyond the Natural ſtrength of that Body, as it was ſimply united to its humane Soul; how much more then can the Devil actuate any other proportion of ſimple Matter, Earth, Air, Fire or Water; and make it a fit organ for himſelf to act in.

But enough of this already, let us rather enquire how the Devil enters into the body of the poſſeſſt, to move it at his pleaſure; this I think he cannot do as a meer Spirit, or by any never ſo ſtrict Union with the Humane Soul, for in that caſe he is only a tempter or ſeducer; and nothing above humane ſtrength can be done: But here there being ſomething performed (the bonds broken) by a force which could not proceed from humane ſtrength, it neceſſarily follows that the Devils entered into the poſſeſt, otherways qualified than as a meer Spirit, he did not enter without ſome portion of matter, to which he was united by the Intermedium whereof he acted upon and actuated the humane body. Again if it is ſaid that the Devil entered as a meer Spirit, and immediately acted upon and moved that body; it follows the Devil hath a Vehicle, a certain portion of matter (that Body) to actuate and diſpoſe of at will;

which is abſurd. 1. *Becauſe it aſſerts what it ſeems to deny, viz. the Devils having a Vehicle to act immediately upon, and to be united to a portion of matter (as* [69] *has been ſaid before) is the ſame thing.* 2. *It fights againſt the Catholick Law of the Union of Soul and Body, by which the Omnipotent hath ordained the voluntary motion of a humane body to depend upon the Will of its humane Soul, and thoſe that are not voluntary to proceed either from its own Mechaniſon, or from material force, hence we may certainly conclude, that it is by the Intervening of the Devils Vehicle, that he enters into the Body of the poſſeſt. But what if you and I cannot agree about this Notion of Poſſeſſion, muſt we therefore reject the truth itſelf, and run to a far fetched and intolerable ſenſe of the words: No, our opinions do not alter the Nature of things, it is certain there were perſons poſſeſt, and it is as certain that the Devil enteed into them, either with or without a Vehicle, it is all one which part of the contradiction you take, the conſequence is the ſame, viz.*

That the Devil doth act immediately upon matter, there is another acceptation of the word poſſeſſion in Scripture, Acts xvi. 16, *where one is ſaid to be poſſeſt with a Spirit of Divination,* (πνεῦμα Πύθωνος) *the word commonly uſed to the Prieſteſs of* Apollo, *who gave reſponſes; and it ſeems this Damſel was ſuch an one, for ſhe brought her Maſters much Money, or gain by ſoothſaying. Now if the Hiſtory of them be true that they were demented, and knew not themſelves what they uttered,* donec erant Deo

plenæ, (*as they word it*) *their caſe is not different, but the ſame with the foregoing; but if they underſtood what they ſpoke, then had they familiar Spirits, whereof there is frequent mention made in the Old Teſtament, and one good King is commended for having cut off them that had ſuch, therefore I think the meaning of the word was very obvious in his time, neither was it ever controverted, being joyned with any other name than ſpirit Familiar, one of our own Family, that is oft, every day converſant with us, and almoſt ever ready upon call to attend us. But the conſideration of them, who have familiar Spirits falleth under the head of Witchcraft, which we are to conſider in the third place.* 3. *Witchcraft, to inquire into the Scripture Notion of it, and compare whether it be the ſame with that above defined; the Cabaliſtick learning would be of great uſe in this ſearch, and afford us much light; there is little doubt but that there are many great truths not commonly known.* (Non eſt Religio ubi omnia patent.) *And our Saviour expreſſly cautions his Diſciples that they do not throw their Pearl before Swine; therefore it is no wonder that ſome Doctrines, tho' unqueſtionably true are not ſo fully deſcribed, becauſe the Authors who treat of them are afraid, leſt evil Men ſhould be the more depraved by being informed; but I am in no ſuch fear; nor can I give you any other thoughts but what are obvious to any Man, from the plain ſenſe of the Scripture. Our definition we'l divide into two Propoſitions, and handle them ſeverally.* 1. *Propoſition.*

The Witch is impower'd by the Devil to do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beſide their natural courſe. 2. *Prop. The manner how the Witch is impowered to do thoſe ſtrange things, is by Explicit Com-*[70] *pact, or Covenant with the Devil. For clearing of the firſt, we will conſider the four places above cited, wherein a Witch is called a falſe Prophet, a falſe Chriſt, a Sorcerer, a reſiſter of the truth, and is ſaid to ſhew ſigns to ſeduce the People to ſeek after other Gods: whence let us note,* 3 *things.* 1. *That thoſe terms Witch, falſe Chriſt, falſe Prophet, and Sorcerer, are all Synonimous; i. e. ſignifie the ſame thing.* 2. *That a Witch doth do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beyond their Natural courſe: for it were moſt ridiculous, to alledge that our bleſſed Saviour, when he ſaid,* there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts, and ſhall ſhew great ſigns and wonders, in ſo much that (if it were poſſible) they ſhould deceive the very Elect *meant that cunning cheats ſhould ariſe and ſhew Legerdemain tricks; the words will in no wiſe bear it, and I believe you are from interpreting them, ſo it is manifeſt, they ſignifie not a feign'd, but a real doing of things, beyond their Natural courſe; therefore the Sorceries of* Elimas[89] *and* Simon *were not ſimple deluſions, but real effects that could not have been produced by Phyſical cauſes in the ordinary courſe of nature.* 3. *That the end of the Witches ſhewing theſe ſigns, is to ſeduce the People to ſeek after other Gods, from which premiſes*

[89] See *Remarkable Providences,* 128, by Dr. I. Mather.

I infer, that the Witches have the power of doing thoſe wonders, or ſtrange things immediately from the Devil: they are without the reach of Nature, and therefore above humane power, and no meer Man can effect them; the Witch then who does them muſt have the power of doing them from another; but who is the other? God will not give his teſtimony to a lye, and to ſay God did at any time impower a Witch to work wonders to gain belief to the Doctrine of Devils were with one breath to deſtroy root and branch of all revealed Religion; no, it cannot be, it is only God's permiſſion, who proveth his People, whether they love him with all their heart, and with all their Soul. Therefore the Witch has a power of doing Wonders, or ſtrange things immediately from the Devil. 2. *Propoſit. we'll ſubdivide into theſe two.* 1. *That there is an expreſs Covenant between the Witch and the Devil.* 2. *That 'tis not reaſonable to ſuppoſe this Covenant to be tranſacted mentally.* 1. *The Devil cannot communicate this power, by never ſo ſtrict a Union with the Soul of the Witch; for in that caſe he is only a tempter, and nothing above humane power can be done, as has been already proved; therefore the Devil who improves the Witch to do things above humane power, muſt either appear in an External ſhape, and inſtruct him how, and upon what terms he will inable him to do thoſe Wonders; or elſe he muſt enter into the body of the Witch and poſſeſs it. The Demoniacs in the Goſpel are ſuch whom the Devils invade, by main force, their Soul having no further command*

of their bodies, which are ſubjected to the Will of the Devils; whoſe end is to wound and torment thoſe miſerable Creatures, to throw them into the fire, and into the water; but the Witch, who likewiſe is poſſeſſed, is not treated in ſuch an outrageous manner, his Dæmon *is tame and familiar unto him, and ſuffers him for* [71] *a time to live quietly, without any further moleſtation, then prompting him to do his utmoſt endeavour to withdraw Men from God; he is not bereaved of his Senſes as the poor lunatick, but is conſcious of all he does, and willeth all his crimes, he receiveth power from the Devil to do wonders, and doth them to ſerve the Devils turn. Therefore there muſt be a Covenant, an expreſs Covenant between the Devil and him,* viz. *that he ſhall obey the Devil and ſerve him, and that the Devil ſhall both enable him ſo to do, and alſo reward him for ſo doing; for if there is no contract between them, How comes the Witch to know he has a ſupernatural power? or how can he ſo peremptorily pretend to do that which is ſo much above his natural power, not knowing he has a ſupernatural one inabling him to do the ſame: There can be no doubt but there was a very intimate commerce between Satan and him; who is call'd by* St. Paul *thou child of the Devil (not as other unholy men) but in an eſpecial manner, as being the Enemy of all righteouſneſs, who would not ceaſe to pervert the right ways of the Lord, it is not to be ſuppoſed that he enter'd into this ſo near a Relation with Satan, with which he is ſtigmatized, that others may beware of him, without his own knowledge and con-*

ſent; and is not this a Covenant, an expreſs Covenant on his part to ſerve the Devil inceſſantly, and on the Devils to impower him to act his Sorceries wherewith he bewitched the People; now I think, I have from Scripture fully ſatisfied you of the truth of what I offered, in a Diſcourſe at —— but ſince you have told me an Explicit Covenant with the Devil, ſignifying the Devil's appearing in a bodily ſhape to the Witch, and their ſigning an expreſs Covenant, which you ſay cannot be proved from Scripture. It were moſt unreaſonable to imagine that the ceremonies of this helliſh myſtery are particularly ſet down in the word of God; therefore we muſt gather by Analogy and Reaſon the manner how this expreſs Covenant is tranſacted: and to that end I'le ſet down theſe following Conſiderations.

1. Under the Law God did ordain his People in all their matters to have recourſe immediately to himſelf, and depend upon him for Counſil, which they were ready to obey, with full aſſurance of aid and protection from him againſt their Enemies; this the Devil imitateth by setting up of Oracles among the Heathen, to which all the Kings, Nations, and mighty Conquerors, upon Earth did come, and paid their humbleſt adoration to the God (as the Devil blaſphemouſly call'd himſelf) of the Temple, in which they were imploring his direction and aſſiſtance in their doubtful and proſperous affairs. Again, God inſtituted Sacrifices to put Men in mind of their duty to their Creator, to whom they owe

all things, even themſelves; but the Devil is not contented with the bare imitation hereof; the acknowledgment and worſhip he receiveth from the deluded World is not enough, tho' they offer up unto him innumerable Hecatombs, unleſs they cauſe their Children to paſs through the [72] fire unto him, to whom no ſacrifice is ſo well pleaſing as that of humane blood. And there is no reaſon to think, that now under the Œconomy of the Goſpel, the Devil hath left off to vie with God, and thereby to enſnare Men. No, it is rather to be feared that his Kingdom doth now more prevail, for by how much the light is greater; ſo much greater is their condemnation, who do not receive it: it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that (seeing the Son of God, when he came to tranſact with Men, the wonderful Covenant of their Redemption, took upon him their Nature, and was perfect Man) the Devil likewiſe doth counterfeit the ſame, in appearing in an humane ſhape to them, who receive him, and confederate themſelves with him, and become his Vaſſals.

2. Conſider, It is not probable that thoſe falſe Apoſtles mention'd, 2 *Cor.* xi. 13. erred only in Ceremonies or Circumſtances, or that their Errors, tho' great, did proceed rather from their Ignorance, than from the perverſeneſs of their minds. 1 *Cor.* iii. 15. For, for ſuch we may have charity and hope, that God will be merciful unto them, if they ſincerely do the beſt they know, tho' they diſſent in ſome, nay many things,

from the practices and belief of the Chriſtian Church; but thoſe St. *Paul* threatens with a heavy curſe, that their end ſhall be according to their works; therefore it ſeems they immediately ſtruck at the very root and being of the Chriſtian Religion, and were the ſame with them ſpoken 2 *Tim.* iii. 6. but with this difference, that they did not reſiſt, but beholding the Miracles and Signs which were done by the true Apoſtle of our Lord, wondered and believed alſo, and were Baptized; yet being Sorcerers they were unwilling to loſe that great eſteem they had obtained; as it is related of *Simon*, who had bewitched the People of *Samaria*, giving out that he himſelf was ſome great one, to whom they all gave heed, from the leaſt to the greateſt, ſaying, this Man is the great Power of God, therefore he could not brook that *Peter* or *John* ſhould have a greater Power than himſelf; but offered them Money, that on whomſoever he laid hands, he (that perſon) ſhould receive the Holy Ghoſt; which ſhews him, who thus deſigned to make Merchandize of the B. Spirit, tho' Baptized, to have been no true believer, but ſtill a Sorcerer in the Gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of Iniquity; ſuch were thoſe deceitful workers, who not being able barefaced to reſiſt, did put on Chriſtianity as a Maſk, that they might undermine the truth, and introduce the Doctrines of Devils. *Samaria* and *Paphos*, were not the only two places where the Devil had ſuch Agents,

there was no part of the Earth where his Kingdom was not Eſtabliſhed, and where he had not his Emiſſaries before the preaching of the Goſpel; and ſince the Text telleth us he hath his Miniſters, who do imitate their Maſter, by being transformed into the Apoſtles of Chriſt, as he himſelf is transformed into an [73] Angel of light: whoſe deſign in being thus transformed, cannot be to impoſe upon the Almighty; for whatever ſhape he appears in, he cannot hide his uglineſs from the Eyes of him who is Omniſcent, therefore he appeareth thus in the ſhape of an Angel of light, either to tempt and ſeduce the bleſſed Spirits to rebel againſt God, or to enſnare wicked Men, who by their hainous crimes (being lovers of themſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud blaſphemers) were before diſpoſed to be fit Inſtrumets to ſerve him and to enter into league with him. Surely I, who am ignorant of the Laws by which the Intellectual World is govern'd, dare not affirm that it is impoſſible for Satan ſo to appear, as to hide his deformities from the good Angels, and under that vail to tempt them: But certain I am that it is more conſonant to Reaſon, to think that the Apoſtles intention here was to teach that the Devil appear'd as a glorified Angel unto Men to gain Miniſters, whom he might imbue with the Poyſon of his Black-Art, and (when he had gotten full poſſeſſion of them) inſtruct them by his own Example to transform themſelves into the Apoſtles of

Chriſt, that under that Vizard they might with the greater Advantage promote his ends, and join with him in doing the utmoſt deſpite to the Spirit of Grace.

3. Conſideration, It is againſt the Nature of this Covenant, that it ſhould be conſummated by a mental Colloquy, between the Devil and the Witch. I know not how many Articles it conſiſts of, but it is certain from what has been already proved, that the renouncing of Chriſt to be the Son of God, and owning the Devil to be, and worſhipping him as God, are the two chief, to which our Saviour who was accuſed of caſting out Devils by Beelzebub (*i. e.*) of being confederated with Beelzebub, was tempted to conſent: *If thou be the Son of God command that theſe ſtones be made bread:* And again, *throw thyſelf down from hence, for it is written, he will give his Angels charge over thee; and again all theſe things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worſhip me:* Whence it is evident that here the Devil Laboured to inſinuate into our Lord, either to do things raſh and unwarrantable, or to ſuſpect his Sonſhip, revolt from God his father, and worſhip Satan, that he might obtain the glory of the World. Now it has been already ſaid, that when Jeſus was tempted, the Devil appeared unto him in a bodily ſhape; therefore it is agreeable to Reaſon, that he doth appear in the ſame manner to all them, whom he alſo tempteth to worſhip him; moreover the form of renouncing a Cove-

nant ought to bear reſemblance to the form of entring into the ſame Covenant; therefore Men who are received into the Myſtical Body of Chriſt by God's Miniſter, who in God's ſtead expreſſly covenanteth with and then Adminiſtereth the Sacrament of Baptiſm unto them, muſt in the like manner go out of, or renounce the ſaid Covenant; and of them there are [74] two ſorts, one who through the perverſeneſs of their own hearts, the lucre of the world, the fear of Men more than of God, abjure their Saviour, turn Apoſtates, Turks, or Pagans; The other ſort is of them who do contract with the Devil to be his Subjects, in the imitation of whom, it is not to be ſuppoſed that the Devil will omit any material Circumſtances, which tend both to bring them into and confirm them in his Service. To effect which his outward appearance, when he receives his Catechumens is of greater force than any mental contract, for many wicked men who have denied God and Chriſt not only in their practice, but alſo blaſphemouſly in profeſſion, yet have repented, and at laſt obtained ſome hope of mercy; I dare not ſay it is impoſſible for a Witch to repent and find mercy, the ſecrets of the Almighty are too high for me; but it is certain, theſe wretches are ſtrangely hardned, by what paſſes between them and the Devil, in a bodily ſhape, particularly their worſhipping him, which neceſſarily implies his outward appearance unto them; for no man can apete Evil as Evil, becauſe

the Law of ſelf-preſervation deeply rooted in all men, determineth their wills to purſue that which ſeems good, and fly from that which ſeems evil unto them, but the inbred notions that every man has of the Devil, is that he is an Enemy and deſtroyer of mankind, therefore every man hath a Natural averſion from him, and conſequently cannot formally worſhip him as ſuch, becauſe the object of worſhip muſt be eſteemed to be propitious and placable by the worſhippers, otherwiſe if fear alone be the adequate cauſe of Adoration, it follows that the Devils and damned in Hell do worſhip God, which is contrary to Scripture, which ſaith they blaſphemed, becauſe of their pains, whence it follows that they who worſhip the Devil muſt have changed the innate Idea that they had of him, *viz.* that he is an implacable Worrier of Men, and take him to be benign at leaſt to his own; but this change cannot be wrought by any ſuggeſtion of Satan unto the minds of Men, whom indeed he mentally tempteth to Luſt, Pride and Malice; but it is his greateſt Artifice to cauſe his Inſinuations to ariſe in the hearts of Men, as their own natural thoughts, and if conſcience diſcovers their Author and oppoſes them, then he varniſhes them over with the ſpecious colours of pleaſure, honour and glory; and ſo repreſents them as really good, to be willed and deſired by the Soul, which judgeth of all things without according to the Ideas ſhe hath of them; but becauſe moſt objects have

two, and ſome many faces, and ſhe not always attends, therefore ſhe often errs in her choice, nevertheleſs it is impoſſible for her to apete an object, whoſe ſimple Idea is Evil; but the Idea we have of the Devil is ſuch, for we cannot repreſent him in our minds any otherwiſe than the great deſtroyer of Men, therefore no mental temptation can make us believe this our grand Enemy to be [75] ever Exorable by, or in any meaſure favourable to us, whence it evidently follows, that the Devil to work this change of opinion his worſhippers have of him, muſt appear unto them in a bodily ſhape, and impoſe upon them, whom becauſe of their great Corruption and Sinfulneſs, God hath wholly left and given up [to] ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lye, and the Father of lyes; who now appearing in a humane ſhape, telleth them that he is no ſuch Monſter, as he has been repreſented to them by his Enemy, who calls himſelf God, which Title of right belongs to him, and that he (if they contract to be his Servants) will both amply reward them by giving them power to do many things very ſuitable to their abominable depraved Nature, that the Chriſtians, whatever opinion they may pretend to have of their God, cannot ſo much as pretend to, and alſo that he will protect and defend them againſt him, whom heretofore they have miſtaken for the Almighty, and his pretended Son Chriſt, whom they muſt abjure ere they can be received by or expect any benefit from

him. Upon no other conſideration is it poſſible for any man to worſhip the Devil; for the Atheiſts, who deny the being of a God, do likewiſe deny the exiſtence of any Spirit good or bad; therefore their drinking the Devils health, even upon their knees (tho' a moſt horrid Crime) cannot be conſtrued any part of worſhip paid to him, whom they aſſert to be a Chimera, a meer figment of Stateſmen to keep the vulgar in awe. Now I have evinced to you that there are Witches, that the Witch receiveth power from the Devil to do ſtrange things, that there is an expreſs Covenant between the Devil and the Witch, that this Covenant cannot be tranſacted mentally, but that the Devil muſt appear in a bodily ſhape to the Witch; thereſore I conclude, that a Witch in the Scripture is ſuch, who has made an Explicit Covenant with the Devil, and is impowered by him to do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beſide their natural courſe.

2. I perſwade myſelf you do not expect from me any Eſſay concerning the methods, how Witches may or ought to be convinced; I wiſh that thoſe Gentlemen, whoſe Eminent ſtation both inables them to perform it, and likewiſe makes it their duty ſo to do, may take this Province upon them, and handle it ſo fully as to ſatisfie you herein. I once intended to have provided ſome materials for this Work, by defining four principal things relating to Witchcraft, viz. 1. Witch-fits. 2. The Imps that are ſaid to attend

on the Witch. 3. The tranſportation of the Witch through the Air. 4. Laſtly, the inviſibility of the Witch; but upon ſecond thoughts that it was foreign from my purpoſe, who am not concerned to compoſe a juſt Treatiſe of Witchcraft, which would require more vacant time, than my preſent Circumſtances will allow, only I did promiſe you to give you my Opinion privately; therefore I'le [76] venture to make uſe of an Argument, which ſheweth neither Art nor Learning in the Author, and it is this, that ſeeing there are Witches, and that the Law of God doth command them to be put to death; therefore there muſt be means to convict them, by clear and certain Proof, otherwiſe the Law were in vain; for no Man can be juſtly condemned, who is not fairly convicted by full and certain Evidence.

III. In the laſt place we are to inquire whether a Witch ought to be put to death or no? you Anſwer in the *Negative;* becauſe you ſay that that Law, thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to live, is *Judicial*, and extendeth only to the People of the *Jews;* but our Saviour, or his Apoſtles have not delivered any where any ſuch command, therefore they ought to be ſuffered to live, this indeed ſeems ſomewhat plauſible at firſt view, but upon through Examination hath no weight in it at all for theſe Reaſons, 1. All Penal Laws receive their Sanction from him or them, who have the Sovereign Power in any ſtate, as thou ſhalt not

commit Adultery, is a Moral-law, and obligatory over the Conſciences of Men in all places and Ages; but the Adulterers ſhall be put to death is a judicial law, and in force only in that ſtate, where it is enacted by the Sovereign. 2. The Government of the *Jews* was a Theocracy, and God himſelf did condeſcend to be their King, not only as he is King of Kings; for in that ſenſe he is, always was, and ever will be ſupreme Lord, and Governour of all his Creatures; but in an eſpecial manner to give them Laws for the Government of their State, and to protect them againſt their Enemies; in one word to be immediately their Sovereign. 3. Our Saviour's Kingdom was not of this World, he was no Judge to divide ſo much as an Inheritance between two Brethren; nay, he himſelf ſubmitted patiently to the unjuſt Sentence of the Governour of the Country in which he lived; therefore both the rewards and puniſhments annexed to his Laws are Spiritual, and then ſhall have their full accompliſhment, when the Son of Man at the laſt day ſhall pronounce, *Come unto me ye bleſſed, and depart ye curſed into Everlaſting fire.* 4. That Soveraigns, who have received the Goſpel of our Lord, have not therefore loſt their Power of enacting Laws for the ruling and preſerving their People, and puniſhing Malefactors even with Death; ſo that the Criminal is as juſtly condemned to die by our Municipal, as he was heretofore by the Judicial Law among the Jews: How much more then

ought our Law to advert againſt the higheſt of all Criminals, thoſe execrable Men and Women, who tho yet alive, have liſted themſelves under Satan's banner, and explicitly Sworn Allegiance to him, to fight againſt God and Chriſt; indeed all unholy Men afford great matter to the Devils of Blaſpheming, but theſe wretches have confederated themſelves with the Devils, to blaſpheme and deſtroy all they can; and do you think that theſe common [77] Enemies of God and Mankind ought to be ſuffered to live in a Chriſtian Common wealth, eſpecially conſidering that we have a Preſident of putting them to death from God himſelf, when he acted as King over his own peculiar People. But methinks I hear you ſaying, all this doth not ſatisfie me, for I am ſure nothing can be added to the Devils malice, and if he could, he certainly would appear and frighten all Men out of their wits. I anſwer, 1. We muſt not reject a truth, becauſe we cannot reſolve all the Queſtions that may be propoſed about it; otherwiſe all our Science muſt be turned into Scepticiſm, for we have not a comprehenſive knowledge of any one thing. 2. When you ſay, that if the Devil could, he would appear and frighten all Men; the Lawful conſequence is not that he cannot appear at all, for we have undoubtedly proved the contrary; but that we are Ignorant of the bounds that the Almighty hath ſet to him, whoſe malice indeed, if he were not reſtrain'd, is ſo great as to deſtroy all Men; but

the goodneſs of our God is greater, who hath given us means to eſcape his fury, if we will give earneſt heed to the Goſpel of our Saviour, which only is able to comfort us againſt the ſad and miſerable condition of our preſent ſtate, for not only the Devils, but likewiſe all do conſpire againſt us to work our ruine. The deluge came and ſwept away all the race (ſave eight perſons) of mankind: the Fire will in time devour what the Water has left, and all this cometh to paſs becauſe of Sin; but we who have received the Lord Jeſus, look for new Heavens, and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteouſneſs. Therefore he, if we purifie ourſelves as he is pure, will ſave us (for when he appears we ſhall be made like unto him; to whom be Glory for ever, *Amen*) from the great deſtruction that muſt come upon all the World, and the Inhabitants thereof. Farewell.

March, 8*th* 169$\frac{3}{4}$.

Boſton, *March* 20, 1693.

Worthy Sir,

THE great pains you have taken for my Information and Satisfaction in thoſe controverted points relating to Witchcraft, whether it attain the end or not, cannot require leſs than ſuitable acknowledgments and gratitude, eſpecially conſidering you had no particular obligation of office to it, and when others, whoſe proper Province it was had declined it. It is a great truth, [*that the many Hereſies among*

the Chriſtians (nor the lying Miracles, or Witchcrafts uſed by ſome to induce to the worſhip of Images, &c.) muſt not give a Mortal wound to Chriſtianity or Truth;] but the great queſtion in theſe con[78]*troverted points ſtill is, what is truth. And in this ſearch being agreed in the Judge or Rule, there is great hopes of the Iſſue. That there are Witches is plain from that Rule of Truth, the Scriptures, which commands their puniſhment by Death. But what that Witchcraft is, or wherein it does conſiſt is the whole difficulty. That head cited from Mr.* Gaule,[90] *and ſo well proved thereby (not denied by any) makes the work yet ſhorter; ſo that it is agreed to conſiſt in a Malignity, &c. and ſeeking by a ſign to ſeduce, &c. not excluding any other ſorts or branches, when as well proved by that infallible Rule. That good Angels have appeared, is certain, tho that inſtance of thoſe to* Abraham *may admit of a various conſtruction; ſome Divines ſuppoſing them to be the Trinity, others that they were Men-meſſengers, as* Judges ii. 1. *and others that they were Angels; but tho this as I ſaid might admit of a debate, yet I ſee no queſtion of the Angel Gabriel's appearance, particularly to the B. Virgin; for tho the Angels are Spirits, and ſo not perceptible by our bodily Eyes without the appointment of the moſt high, yet he who made all things by his word in the Creation, can with a word ſpeak things into Being. And whether the Angels did aſſume matter (or a Vehicle)*

[90] See *Volume* I, *Pages* 39-41.

and by that appear to the bodily Eye; or whether by the ſame word there were an Idea fram'd in the mind, which needed no Vehicle to repreſent them to the Intellects, is with the All-wiſe, and not for me to diſpute. If we poor ſhallow Mortals do not comprehend the manner how, that argues only our weakneſs. Two other times did this glorious Angel appear. Dan. viii. 16. Dan. ix. 21. *The firſt of theſe times was in Viſion, as by the text and context will appear. The ſecond was the ſame as at the firſt; which being conſidered, as it will aſcertain that Angels have appear'd; ſo that 'tis at the will of the Sender how they ſhall appear, whether to the bodily Eye, or Intellect only.* Mat. i. 20. *The appearance of the Angel to Joſeph was in a Dream, and yet a real appearance; ſo was there a real appearance to the Apoſtle, but whether in the body or out of the body he could not tell; and that they are ſent and come not of their own motion.* Luke i. 26. *And in the ſixth Month the Angel Gabriel was ſent from God.* Dan. ix. 23. *At the beginning of thy ſupplication the commandment came forth, and I am come,* v. 21. *Being cauſed to fly ſwiftly, &c. but from theſe places may be ſet down as undoubted truths or concluſions,*

1. *That the glorious Angels have their Miſſion and Commiſſion from the moſt high.*

2. *That without this they cannot appear to mankind. And from theſe two will neceſſarily flow a third.*

3. *That if the glorious Angels have not that*

power to go till commiſſioned, or to appear to Mortals, then not the fallen Angels; who are held in Chains of darkneſs, to the Judgment of the great day. Therefore to argue, that becauſe the good Angels have appeared, the evil may or can, is to me as if— [79] *becauſe the dead have been raiſed to life by Holy Prophets, therefore Men, wicked Men can raiſe the dead. As the ſufferings, ſo the temptations of our Saviour were (in degree) beyond thoſe common to Man; he being the ſecond Adam, or publick head, the ſtrongeſt aſſaults were now improved; and we read that he was tempted, that he might be able to ſuccour thoſe that are tempted, as alſo that he was led of the Spirit into the Wilderneſs, that he might be tempted, &c. But how the tempter appeared to him who was God Omniſcient; whether to the bodily Eye or to the Intellect, is as far beyond my cognizance as for a blind Man to judge of Colours. But from the whole ſet down this fourth concluſion,*

4. *That when the Almighty free Agent has a work to bring about for his own glory, or Man's good; he can Imploy not only Bleſſed Angels, but the evil ones in it, as* 2 *Cor.* xii. 7. And leſt I ſhould be exalted above meaſure, there was given to me a thorn in the fleſh, the Meſſenger of Satan to buffet me. 1. Sam. 10. xiv, xv, xxiii. *An evil Spirit from the Lord troubled him. It is a great truth, we underſtand little, very little, and that in common things, how much leſs then in ſpirituals, ſuch as are above humane cognizance. But tho' upon the ſtricteſt Scrutiny in ſome natural things, we can only diſcover*

our own Ignorance, yet we muſt not hence deny what we do know, or ſuffer a Rape to be committed upon our Reaſon and Senſes in the Dark; and ſay that the Devil by his ordinary Power can act a Vehicle (i. e.) ſome matter diſtinct from himſelf, who is wholly a Spirit, and yet this matter not to be felt nor heard, and at the ſame time to be ſeen; or may be felt, and not heard nor ſeen, &c. ſeems to me to be a Chimera, invented at firſt to puzzle the belief of reaſonable Creatures, and ſince Calculated to a Roman Latitude, to uphold the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; who teach, that under the Accidents of Bread, is contained the Body of our Saviour, his humane Body, as long, and as broad, &c. for here the Power of the Almighty muſt not be confined to be leſs than the Devil's, and 'tis he that has ſaid, hoc eſt meum Corpus. *As to the conſent of almoſt all Ages, I meddle not now with it, but come to the fifth Concluſion.*

5. *That when the Divine Being will imploy the Agency of Evil Spirits for any ſervice, 'tis with him the manner how they ſhall exhibit themſelves, whether to the bodily Eye, or Intellect only; and whether it ſhall be more or leſs formidable — To deny theſe three laſt were to make the Devil an Independent Power and conſequently a God. As to the nature of poſſeſſions by Evil Spirits, for the better underſtanding of it, it may be needful to compare it with its contraries; and to inſtance in* Samſon, *of whom it was foretold, that he ſhould begin to deliver* Iſrael, *and how was he inabled to this work? Judges* xiii. 25. *The Spirit of the Lord began to move him*

at times in the Camp, &c. ch. xv. 13, 14. v. and they bound him with two new cords, and brought him up from the rock, and when they came to Lehi, [80] the Philiſtines ſhouted againſt him, and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his Arms became as Flax, that was burnt with fire, and his bands looſed from his hands, *&c. I might inſtance further, but this may ſuffice to ſhow that he had more than a natural ſtrength, as alſo whence his ſtrength was, viz. he was impowered by the Spirit from God. And now will any ſay, that it was not* Samſon, *but the Spirit that did theſe things, or that there being things done, bonds broken, &c. by a force that could not proceed from human ſtrength, and that therefore the Spirit entered into him otherwiſe qualified than as meer Spirit; or that the Spirit entered not without ſome Portion of Matter, and by the Intermediation thereof acted* Samſon's *body. If any ſay this and more too, this doth not alter the truth, which remains, viz. that the Spirit of God did inable* Samſon *to the doing of things beyond his Natural ſtrength. And now what remains but upon parity of Reaſon, to apply this to the caſe of Poſſeſſion, which may be ſumm'd up in this ſixth Concluſion.*

6. *That God for wiſe ends, only known to himſelf, may and has impowered Devils to Poſſeſs and ſtrangely to act humane Bodies, even to the doing of things beyond the Natural ſtrength of that body. And for any to tell of a Vehicle, or matter uſed in*

it, I muſt obſerve that General Rule, Colos. ii. 8. Beware leſt any ſpoil you through Philoſophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of Men, after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Chriſt. *To come next to that of Witchcraft, and here taking that cited head of Mr.* Gaul, *to be uncontroverted, ſet it as a ſeventh Concluſion.*

7. *That Witchcraft conſiſts in a maligning and oppugning the Word, Work and Worſhip of God, and ſeeking by any extraordinary ſign to ſeduce any from it. Deut.* xiii. 12. *Matt.* xxiv. 24. *Acts* xiii. 8. 10. 2 *Tim.* iii. 8. *Do but mark well the places, and for this very property of thus oppoſing and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and abſolute Witches; and it will be eaſily granted, that the ſame that is call'd Witch, is call'd a falſe Chriſt, a falſe Prophet, and a Sorcerer, and that the terms are Synonimous; and that what the Witches aim at is, to ſeduce the People to ſeek after other Gods. But here the Queſtion will be, whether the Witch do really do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beyond their natural courſe, and all this by a Power immediately from the Devil. In this inquiry, as we have nothing to do with unwritten verities, ſo but little with Cabaliſtick Learning, which might perhaps but lead us more aſtray, as in the Inſtance of their charging our Saviour with caſting out Devils by Beelzebub, his Anſwer is, if Satan be divided againſt himſelf, his Kingdom hath an end: But ſeeing all are agreed, ſet this eighth Concluſion.*

8. *That God will not give his teſtimony to a lye.*

To ſay that God did at any time impower a Witch to work Wonders, to gain belief to the Doctrine of Devils, were with one breath to deſtroy root and branch of all revealed Re[81]*ligion. And hence 'tis clear the Witch has no ſuch wonder-working power from God; and muſt we then conclude ſhe has ſuch a Miraculous Power from the Devil; if ſo, then it follows that either God gives the Devil leave to impower the Witch to make uſe of this Seal, in order to deceive, or elſe that the Devil has this Power independent of himſelf;*[91] *to aſſert the firſt of theſe were in effect to ſay, that tho God will not give his teſtimony to a lye, yet that he may impower the Devil to ſet to God's own Seal, in order to deceive; and what were this but to overthrow all revealed Religion. The laſt if aſſerted muſt be to own the Devil to be an unconquered Enemy, and conſequently a Sovereign Deity, and deſerving much thanks, that he exerts his Power no more. Therefore in this Dilemma it is Wiſdom for ſhallow Mortals to have recourſe to their only guide, and impartially to inquire, whether the Witches really have ſuch a Miraculous or Wonder-working Power? And 'tis remarkable that the Apoſtle,* Gal. v. 20. *reckons up Witchcraft among the Works of the fleſh, which were it indeed a Wonder-working Power, received immediately from the Devil, and wholly beyond the Power of Nature; it were very improper to place it with Drunkennneſs, Murthers, Adulteries, &c. all mani-*

[91] See concluding Part of *Note* 81.

feſt fleſhly works. 'Tis alſo remarkable, that Witchcraft is generally in Scripture joined with ſpiritual Whordom, i. e. Idolatry. This thence will plainly appear to be the ſame, only pretending to a ſign, in order to deceive, ſeems to be yet a further degree, and in this ſenſe Manaſſah *and* Jezebel, 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 6. 2 *Kings* ix. 22. *uſed Witchcraft and Whoredoms, Nahum* iii. 4. *The Idolatrous City is called Miſtreſs of Witchcrafts. But to inſtance in one place inſtead of many, that* 2 *Theſ.* ii. *from the* 3 *to the* 12 v. *particularly* 9 *and* 10 v. Even him whoſe coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs. And for this cauſe God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lye, that they all might be damned, who believe not the truth, *&c. This, that then was ſpoken in the Propheſie of that man of Sin, that was to appear, how abundantly does Hiſtory teſtifie the fulfilment of it; particularly to ſeduce to the Worſhip of Images: Have not the Images been made to move? to ſmile, &c. too tedious were it to mention the hundredth part of what undoubted Hiſtory doth abundantly teſtifie. And hence do ſet down this nineth Concluſion.*

9. *That the Man of Sin, or Seducer, &c. makes uſe of lying wonders to the end to deceive, and that God in Righteous Judgment,* may ſend ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lye, that they might be damn'd, who believe not the truth, *&c.*

'Tis certain that the Devil is a proud Being,

and would be thought to have a Power equal to the Almighty; and it cannot but be very grateful to him to ſee Mortals charging one another of doing ſuch works by the Devil's Power, as in truth is the proper prerogative of the Almighty, Omnipotent Being. The [82] *next head ſhould have been about an Explicit Covenant, between the Witch and the Devil, &c. But in this, the whole of it, I cannot perſwade myſelf but you muſt be ſenſible of an apparent leaning to Education (or tradition) the Scriptures being wholly ſilent in it; and ſuppoſing this to fall in as a dependent on what went before ſhall ſay the leſs to it; for if the Devil has no ſuch Power to communicate, upon ſuch compact, then the whole is a fiction; tho I cannot but acknowledge you have ſaid ſo much to uphold that Doctrine, that I know not how any could have done more; however, as I ſaid, I find not myſelf ingaged (unleſs Scripture proof were offered) to meddle with it. For as you have in ſuch caſes your Reaſon for your guide, ſo I muſt be allowed to uſe that little that I have, do only ſay that as God is a Spirit, ſo he muſt be worſhip'd in ſpirit and truth. So alſo that the Devil is a Spirit, and that his rule is in the hearts of the Children of Diſobedience, and that an Explicit Covenant of one Nature or another can have little force, any further than as the heart is engaged in it. And ſo I paſs to the laſt, viz. Whether a Witch ought to be put to death. And without accumulation of the offence do Judge, that where the Law of any Countrey is to puniſh by death ſuch as ſeduce and*

tempt to the worſhip of ſtrange Gods (or idols, or Statues) by as good Authority may they (no doubt) puniſh theſe as Capital Offenders, who are diſtinguiſhed by that one remove, viz. to their ſeducing is added a ſign, i. e. they pretend to a ſign in order to ſeduce. And thus worthy Sir, I have freely given you my thoughts upon yours, which you ſo much obliged me with the ſight of, and upon the whole, tho I cannot in the general but commend your Caution in not aſſerting many things contended for by others; yet muſt ſay, that in my eſteem there is retain'd ſo much as will ſecure all the reſt; (to inſtance) if a Spirit has a Vehicle, i. e. ſome portion of matter which it acts, &c. *hence as neceſſarily may be inferred that Doctrine of* Incubus *and* Succubus, *and why not alſo that of Procreation by Spirits both good and bad? Thus was* Alexander *the* Great, *the* Britiſh Merlin,[92] *and* Martin Luther, *and many others ſaid to be begotten. Again if the Witch has ſuch a Wonder-working Power, why not to afflict? will not the Devil thus far gratifie her? And have none this Miraculous Power, but the Covenanting Witch? then the offence lyes in the Cove-*

[92] If not a mythical Character, he is ſurrounded with much Myſtery. There, however, ſeems to have been, at ſome remote Period, a Man named *Ambroſe Merlin*, living in Carmarthenſhire, in Wales; and it will pay the Reader well to turn to Thomas Fuller, and ſee what he ſays about him in his *Worthies*, Vol. III, 524. Among other things he ſays: "His Extraction is very Incredible, reported to have an Incubus to his Father, pretending to a Pedigree older than Adam, even from the Serpent himſelf. But a learned Pen demonſtrateth the Impoſſibility of ſuch Conjunctions. And let us not load Satan with groundleſs Sins, whom I believe the Father of Lies, but no Father of Baſtards." A witty Conceit, but ruinous to the Theory of Witchcraft.

nant, then 'tis not only hard, but Impoſſible to find a Witch by ſuch Evidence as the Law of God requires; for it will not be ſuppoſed that they call Witneſs to this Covenant; therefore it will here be neceſſary to admit of ſuch as the nature of ſuch Covenant will bear (as Mr. Gaul *hath it in his 5th head, i. e.) the teſtimony of the afflicted, with their Spectral ſight, to tell who afflicts themſelves or others; the experiment of ſaying the Lords Prayer, falling at the ſight, and riſing at the touch, ſearching for Tets (i. e. Excreſcencies of Nature) ſtrange and foreign ſtories of the Death of ſome Cattle, or over-ſetting ſome Cart; and what can Juries have better to guide them to find out this Covenant by.*

[83] *'Tis matter of lamentation, and let it be for a lamentation, to conſider how theſe things have open'd the Floodgates of Malice, Revenge, Uncharitableneſs, and Bloodſhed, what Multitudes have been ſwept away by this Torrent.*

In Germany, *Countries depopulated; In* Scotland *no leſs than* 4000 *have ſaid to have ſuffered by Fire and Halter at one heat.*[93]

Thus we may ſay with the Prophet, Iſa. lix. 10. We grope for the Wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no Eyes: we ſtumble at Noon-day as in the Night, we are in deſolate places as dead Men: *and this by ſeeking to be wiſe above what is written, in framing to ourſelves ſuch crimes and ſuch Ordels (or ways of Tryal) as are*

[93] See Vol. I, *Introduction*, Page xv. The Executions in Scotland were but few Years before thoſe in New England.

wholly foreign from the direction of our only guide, which ſhould be a light to our feet, and a Lanthorn to our paths; but inſtead of this, if we have not followed the direction we have followed the Example of Pagan *and Papal* Rome, *thereby rendering us contemptable, and baſe before all People, according as we have not kept his ways, but have been partial in his Law.*

And now that we may in all our ſentiments and ways, have regard to his teſtimonies, and give to the Almighty the glory due to his Name, is the earneſt deſire and Prayer of, Sir,

Yours to Command, R. C.

A ſecond Letter of a Gentleman,[94] *endeavouring to prove the received Opinions about Witchcraft.*

SIR,

SINCE your deſign of giving Copies of our Papers (if not to the publick at leaſt) out of your hands, I find myſelf obliged to make a Reply to your Anſwer, leſt ſilence ſhould be conſtrued an Aſſent to the poſitions whereby (I think) truth would be ſcandaliz'd. I remember that ſome have taught that it is not certain there is any ſuch thing really in being as matter; becauſe the Ideas which we have of our own, and all other bodies, may be cauſed to ariſe in us by

[94] The ſame Gentleman mentioned in *Note* 83, *Page* 64.

God, without the real exiſtence of the objects they repreſent. But this opinion is not only abſurd and falſe, but likewiſe Atheiſtical, deſtroying the veracity of the Almighty, whom it aſſerts to have determin'd us by a fatal neceſſity to believe things to be, which are not; and I wonder that you ſhould allude unto it, becauſe that Angels have appeared in a Dream, in a viſion; for we dream alſo of Trees, Birds, &c. are there therefore no ſuch things in nature, becauſe we ſometimes Dream to ſee and hear them, when we are aſleep? St. *Paul* in his Viſion was ſo far from believing the Objects that were repreſented to him, to come by the intermedium of his Senſes, that he declares, he [84] does not know whether he was in the body, or out of the body; therefore the Inſtance is in no wiſe proper. For *Abraham* and the B. Virgin did ſee and hear; and if there were not ſuch things really, as were repreſented to them by their Senſes, they were deluded, by being made to believe they ſaw and heard what was not. There is none who denieth God cauſing thoughts to ariſe in Mens minds: but thence to infer he maketh Objects which are not, by forming their Ideas in our minds, to appear to us through the Miniſtry of our Senſes as though they were, is a piece not only of vain, but very dangerous Philoſophy. It is true, the good Angels will not appear without the appointment of God, they will not do any one Action, but according to the laws he has preſcribed to

them. But you ſay they cannot (which does not follow from your premiſes) ſuppoſing their not appearing to proceed from the defect of their power, and not the rectitude of their will, which fallacy has deceived you into a third Concluſion. For the fallen Angels are not ſo held under Chains of darkneſs; but that they can and do go to [and] fro on the earth ſeeking whom they may devour. Before their fall they could have appeared if ſent, and would not then do any thing without a Divine Command But now they have rebell'd againſt God, and do all they can to deſpiſe him, therefore their not appearing now (if it were true they never did, they never ſhall appear) muſt proceed from a reſtraint they are under, which is accidental, not Eſſential to their nature; ſo that the true Concluſion is, the fallen Angels, while they are under forcible reſtraint from God to the contrary cannot appear. But what this (being cleared from the Ambiguity you expreſs it in) maketh to the purpoſe I know not, unleſs God had promiſed for a determinate time to detain them under this reſtraint. I do not underſtand what you intend by the dead being raiſed by Holy Men; the moſt natural inference is, that in imitation of them wicked men by their Inchantments calling on a *Dæmon* to appear in the ſhape of the dead, will pretend that they alſo can raiſe the dead. The *Romaniſts* are much obliged to you for making Tranſubſtantiation (ſo much contended for by them) to be

of as old a date as the appearance of Devils, and that the one implieth no more contradiction than the other: If ſo we do well to think ſeriouſly whether we are not guilty of great ſin in ſeparating from them; for certainly whatever private Mens Notions in this Age may be, yet it is matter of great moment, that all Antiquity (the *Saducees* the Elder Brethren of our Hobbiſts[94] excepted) hath believed the appearance of Evil Spirits and their Illuſions. I ſhould be too officious if I offered to explain, how matter, real matter may fall under the cogniſance of one of our ſenſes, and not the reſt. It is for you to ſhew the impoſſibility thereof, if you will build any thing upon your Aſſertion, to prove which your firſt Argument is (it ſeems to me) a Chimera, which [85] is not enough, when there are many to whom it ſeems to be a truth: Your ſecond is very dangerous, and highly derogatory of the honour of God, between whom and the Devil you make compariſon more than once as the power of the Almighty muſt not be confined to be leſs than the Devils. And again, to deny theſe three laſt were to make the Devil an Independent Power and conſequently a God. Theſe expreſſions (which cannot but be very pleaſing to the Devil, who vainly boaſts himſelf to be a Be-

[94] Thomas Hobbes, a Native of Malmſbury in Wiltſhire, England, born in 1588, and died in 1679. He has been ſtigmatized as an Unbeliever in Divine Revelation; was a Man of extenſive learning, publiſhed Works on Philoſophy, and tranſlated Homer.

ing without dependance) are altogether groundleſs, and very unmeet to proceed from a Chriſtian: Conſider what you are a doing, to eſtabliſh a Doctrine (the contrary whereof the greateſt part of mankind does believe) you run upon ſuch precipices, as if you are miſtaken, and that is not impoſſible, muſt totally deſtroy all Religion, Natural and Revealed; for ſuppoſe it were generally believed according to you, that the Devil cannot appear, becauſe if he could he muſt be a God, independent, an unconquer'd enemy, and he doth appear to us as we hear he hath to multitudes, both of the paſt and preſent ages: In ſuch a caſe what remains for us to do; but to fall down and worſhip him. Upon the head of poſſeſſion, you have recourſe to that inſtance of *Samſon*, who was impowered by God, to the doing of things beyond the Natural ſtrength of common Men, and thence you ſay, we may ~~leaſt~~ God (see Errata) learn the Nature of Poſſeſſion by evil Spirits, this compariſon is indeed very odious, and I had rather think you have fallen into it unawares; for what greater Blaſphemy than that God and the Devil do act the bodies, which the one and the other do poſſeſs in the ſame manner; if the hypotheſis I laid down had not pleaſed you, yet you ought not (for fear of being deceiv'd by vain Philoſophy, to have run ſo horrible an extream, as to aſſimulate God's manner of working to the Devils, which neceſſarily implies, that either their Powers are equal, or at leaſt that they do

not differ in kind but in degree only; than which nothing can be more impious or abſurd; for the moſt poſſibly perfect Creature, is infinitely diſtant from the Creator, and there can be no Compariſon between them. On the head of Witchcraft, you acknowledge the Witch has not his Wonder-working Power from God; but then you ſay, the Devil has no ſuch power to give; for if he had, he muſt be —— This way of reaſoning as I noted before, is very dangerous, and I think ought not to be uſed; beſides there is a great fallacy in your Dilemma; which becauſe I perceive, you lay the whole weight of the matter upon it, I will evince unto you. The Devil tho ſuperlatively Arrogant and Proud, nevertheleſs depends on the firſt cauſe for his being, and all his Powers, without whoſe Influx he or any other Creature cannot ſubſiſt a moment, but muſt either return to their primitive Nothing, or be continually preſerved by the ſame Power, by the which they were at firſt produced; therefore the [86] Beings and Powers of all Creatures (becauſe they immediately flow from God) are good, and conſequently the ſimple Actions, as they proceed from thoſe Powers, are in their own nature likewiſe good, the Evil proceeding only from the Rebellious will of the Creature, wherefore 'tis no Paradox, but a certain truth, that the ſame action in reſpect to the firſt cauſe is good, but in reſpect of the ſecond is Evil; for inſtance, the act of Copulation is in itſelf good, inſtituted

by God, and may be willed and desired by the Soul, which sinneth not for exerting the simple act; but for exerting it contrary to the Laws prescribe'd by God: as in Wedlock and Adultery there is the same special natural Action, which consider'd simply, as flowing from a Power given to Man by God is certainly good; but considered with relation to the rebellious will of the Adulterer (who lieth with his Neighbours Wife, whom he is forbad to touch) is a very great Evil. We may say the same of all humane Actions, the Executioner and the Murtherer do the same natural Act of striking and killing: The difference consists in the rectitude of the ones and depravation of the others will. These things premised, what more reason have we to conclude that the Devil (because he shews signs and wonders to gain belief to lyes, which is very contrary to the will of God) must be therefore an Independent Power; than that the Adulterer, the Murtherer, or any other sinner (because their Actions being Evil, of which God cannot be the cause) must be Independent beings: The deceit of the last is very palpable, and I doubt not you will readily acknowledge it, for it is obvious from what has been said to the meanest Capacity, to distinguish between the Action itself, which is good, and flows from God, and the Circumstances of the Action, the choice whereof proceeds from the Iniquity of the Will, wherein doth solely consist the Sin; the parallel is so ex-

act, that I cannot ſee the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, why we ought not in like manner to diſtinguiſh whatever effect is produced by the Devil; to whom (as to Man) God having given Powers, and a Will to Rule them Powers, is truly and properly the cauſe of all the Actions (in a Natural, but not Moral Senſe) that flow from the Powers he has given. Therefore the Wonder-working Power of the Devil, and the effects thereof, conſidered as Acts of one of God's Creatures, are not Evil but Good; the uſing that Power (which proceeds from the Rebellion of Satan) to bear teſtimony to a lye, is that one, which conſtitutes the Evil thereof.

And now I have done with your Argument, wherein you have indeed ſhewn great ſkill and dexterity in turning to your Advantage, what being fairly ſtated makes againſt you, as the Appearance of Angels, *&c.* obſerving nicely the rules of Art, and particularly that grand one of concealing, nay diſſembling the ſame Art, as when you quote that Scripture [87] concerning vain Philoſophy (of which tho altogether foreign from the matter in hand yet) you intend to ſerve yourſelf with the Unthinking, who meaſure the Senſe of words by their Jingle, not knowing how to weigh the things they ſignifie, and truly herein your end is very Artificial; for you intend both to throw dirt at them that differ from you, and at the ſame time to cover yourſelf with ſuch a ſubtle web, through which you may ſee, and

not be ſeen. What follows, is rather a Rhetorical Lecture, ſuch as the Patriots of Sects (who commonly Explain the Holy Scriptures according to their own Dogma's, and ſo obtrude humane Invention for the pure word of God) uſe with their Auditors, to recommend any Principle they have a mind to eſtabliſh, than an Impartial and through diſquiſition of a controverted point; wherefore I do not think myſelf obliged to take any further notice of it; eſpecially ſeeing truth, which for the moſt part is little regarded in ſuch florid Diſcourſes, and not any prejudice of Education, Intereſt, or Party, did ſet me about this ſubject. I have never been uſed to Complement in points of Controverſy, therefore I hope you'l not be angry, becauſe I have given you my thoughts naked and plain. I have not the leaſt motion in my mind of accuſing you of any formal deſign to injure Religion; I only obſerve unto you, that your over eager contention to maintain your Principle, has hurried you to aſſert many things of much greater danger, both in themſelves and their conſequences, than thoſe you would ſeem to avoid; which do amount to no more than that, Men being (in the ordinary courſe of Providence) the Depoſitories of both Divine and Humane Laws, may (inſtead of uſing them to preſerve) pervert them to deſtroy; which indeed is very lamentable.

But it is the inevitable conſequent of our depraved nature, and cannot be wholly remedied,

till Sin, and the grand Author of Sin, the Devil, be entirely conquered, and God be all in all; to whom, with the Son, and Holy Ghoſt, be glory for ever, *Amen.*

Sir, your Affectionate Friend to ſerve you.

Boſton, July 25, 1694.

Boſton, Auguſt 17, 1694.

Worthy Sir,

YOURS of *July* 25, being in ſome ſort ſurpriſing to me, I could do no leſs than ſay ſomewhat, as well to vindicate myſelf from thoſe many Reflections, miſtakes and hard cenſures therein; as alſo to vindicate what I conceive to be Important truth, and to that end find it needful to repeat ſome part of mine, *Viz.* Concluſion.

[88] 1. That the glorious Angels have their Miſſion and Commiſſion from the moſt High.

2. That without this they cannot appear to mankind.

3. That if the glorious Angels have not that power to go till commiſſion'd, or to appear to Mortals, then not the fallen Angels, who are held in Chains of Darkneſs to the Judgment of the great Day.

4. That when the Almighty free Agent has a work to bring about for his own glory, or Mans good, he can employ not only the Bleſſed Angels, but evil ones in it.

5. That when the Divine Being will imploy the Agency of Evil Spirits for any ſervice, 'tis

with him the manner how they ſhall exhibit themſelves, whether to the bodily Eye, or Intellect only, or whether it ſhall be more or leſs formidable.

To deny theſe three laſt, were to make the Devil an Independent Power, and conſequently a God.

The bare recital of theſe is ſufficient to vindicate me from that reitterated charge, of denying all appearances of Angels or Devils.

That the good Angels cannot appear without Miſſion and Commiſſion from the moſt high, is you ſay more than follows from the premiſes; but if you like not ſuch Negative deduction, though ſo natural, it concerns you (if you will aſſert this Power to be in their Natures, and their non appearance only to proceed from the rectitude of their wills, and that without ſuch Commiſſion they have a Power to appear to Mortals, and upon this to build ſo prodigious a Structure, *&c.*) very clearly to prove it by Scripture, for Chriſtians have good reaſon to take the Apoſtles warning (if ſome Philoſophers have taught that Man is nothing but matter. And others that 'tis not certain there is any Matter at all) *to take heed leaſt they ſhould be ſpoiled through vain Philoſophy, &c.* but that this ſhould be alluded to by ſuch as never heard of either Notion, or that it was aſſerted that thoſe real appearances to *Joſeph*, and to the Apoſtle, was through the Miniſtry of the Senſes, is as vain as ſuch Philoſophy. As to the

Dead being raiſed, had I uſed Art or Rhetorick enough to explain my meaning to you, I needed not now to rejoin. That 'tis as good an Argument to ſay, that becauſe Holy Prophets have raiſed the dead, therefore wicked Men have a Power to raiſe the dead: As 'tis to ſay, becauſe good Angels have appeared, therefore the Evil have a Power to appear; for who can doubt, but if the Almighty ſhall Commiſſionate a wicked Man to it, he alſo ſhall raiſe the dead, as is intimated, *Mat.* vii. 22. *And in thy name done many wonderful Works.* As to compariſons being odious, particularly that concerning *Samſon*, I think it needful here to add theſe Scriptures further to confirm the fourth Concluſion. 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1. compared with 1 *Chron.* xxi. 1. *In one 'tis God moved, &c. and in the o*[89]*ther Satan provoked* David *to number the People.* 2 Chron. xviii. 21. *And the Lord ſaid, thou ſhalt intice him, and thou ſhalt alſo prevail, go out and do even ſo;* all which, with many more that might be produc'd, as they will ſhew the truth of the Concluſion; ſo that 'tis no odious compariſon to ſay, that as the Almighty can make uſe of Good, ſo alſo of Evil Spirits, for the accompliſhing of his own wiſe ends, and can impower either without the help of a Vehicle. For poſſeſſions muſt be numbred among Gods afflictive diſpenſations, who alſo orders all the Circumſtances thereof. But if any object God is not the Author of Evil, *&c.* you have furniſh'd me with a very learned Anſwer, by

diſtinguiſhing between the Act and the Evil of the Act, and to which 'tis adapt, but will no wiſe ſute where it is placed, till it be firſt proved that the Devil hath of himſelf ſuch Power not only of appearing at pleaſure, but of working Miracles, and to the Almighty reſerved only the power of reſtraining; for till this be proved the Dilemma muſt remain ſtable. He that aſſerts that—Becauſe good Angels have appeared, that therefore the fallen Angels have a Power of themſelves to appear to Mortals; And that they cannot be employed by the Almighty; nor that he does not order the manner and Circumſtances of ſuch appearance, what doth he leſs than make the Devil an Independent Power, and conſequently a God! So he that aſſerts that the Devil hath a Power of himſelf, and Independent to work Wonders, and Miracles, and to impower Witches to do like in order to deceive, *&c.* What doth he leſs than own him to be an unconquered Enemy, and conſequently a Sovereign Deity![96] and who is it that is culpable? he that aſcribes ſuch Attributes to the Evil one, or he that aſſerts that the ſo doing gives him (or aſcribes to him) ſuch Power as is the prerogative of him only who is Almighty? and here Sir, it highly concerns you to conſider your foundations, what proof from

[96] Finding themſelves in this Dilemma (many of the Believers in Witchcraft never having thought of it, it would ſeem,) the Advocates muſt have been ſadly puzzled. Nor is it eaſy to ſee how, by turning to Locke, Le Clerc, or Cudworth, they are helped at all.

Scripture is to be found for your Aſſertions, and who it is you are contending for. For hitherto nothing like a proof hath been offer'd from Scripture, which abounds ſo with the contrary, that he that runs may read, *As ſhall there be evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it? who is he that ſaith, and it cameth to paſs when the Lord commandeth it not.* Who among the Gods of the Heathen (of which the Devil is one) can give Rain, *&c.*

But I ſhall not be tedious in multiplying proofs, to that which all ſeem to own. For as to that ſtale plea of Univerſality, do ſay that I have read of one, if not ſeveral, general Councels, that have not only diſapproved, but Anathematiz'd them that have aſcribed ſuch Power to the Devils. And ſeveral National Proteſtant Churches at this day in their Exhortation before the Sacrament (among other Enormous Crimes) admoniſh all that believe any ſuch Power in the Witch, *&c.* to withdraw as unmeet to partake at the Lord's Table.

[90] And I believe Chriſtians in general, if they were aſked, would own that what Powers the Devil may at any time have to appear, to afflict, deſtroy, or cauſe tempeſts, *&c.* muſt be by Power or Commiſſion from the Sovereign Being. And that having ſuch a Commiſſion, not only Hail, but Frogs, Lice, or Flies ſhall be impowered to plague a great King and Kingdom. And if ſo, this Sandy Structure of the Devils appearance,

and working Wonders at pleaſure, and of Impowering Witches to afflict, *&c.* (for to this narrow Criſis is that whole Doctrine reduc'd) the whole diſappears at the firſt ſhaking.[97]

Thus worthy Sir, I have given you my ſentiments, and the grounds thereof, as plainly and as conciſe as I was able, tho 'tis indeed a ſubject that calls for the ableſt Pens to diſcuſs, acknowledging myſelf to be inſufficient for theſe things; however I think I have done but my duty for the glory of God, the Sovereign Being; and have purpoſely avoided ſuch a reply as ſome parts of yours required.

And pray that not only you and I, but all mankind may give to the Almighty the glory due unto his name. From, Sir, Yours to Command,

R. C.

Witchcraft is manifeſtly a Work of the Fleſh.

[97] Le Clerc has one ſenſible Remark, among many weak ones, about the Exiſtence of Witches. He ſays: "Thoſe Opinions or Diſeaſes of the Brain which Witches have, who think they go to Feaſts and Dancings, upon their talking of it to others, that are of a timorous Diſpoſition and weak Brains, bring others into the ſame Fits of Fury, and, like a Contagion, ſpread far and near, infeſting many Heads; though it is obſervable thoſe Diſeaſes are more frequent amongſt the Inhabitants of Mountains and ſolitary Places, than amongſt thoſe that live in Cities." It muſt occur to the judicious Reader, that Mons. Le Clerc took a roundabout Way to tell him that Witchcraft flouriſhed beſt among ignorant People. See *A Compleat Hiſtory of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft*, London, 1715, 2 Vols. 12mo.

[End of Vol. II.]